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THE POPE AND PEACE

BY P. J. GANNON, S.J.

THE Catholic world would, doubtless, have made the silver jubilee of the episcopal consecration of any Pope at any time an occasion for manifesting its loyalty to the successor of the Apostles and the See of Peter. This loyalty is a question of principle, independent of transient and accidental things, just as under an hereditary monarchy the Throne is held sacrosanct whether occupied by a Prince Charming or a Black Prince. The enlightened Catholic sees in the Papacy the instrument of Providence for preserving the unity of the Church and the purity of the Faith. He believes this to be the manifest design of Christ and finds it confirmed by the history of nearly two thousand years. Hence he will not let his allegiance waver in the least because he may chance to be chilled, or even repelled, by the character of the passing incumbent. Recognising in him the Vicar of Christ, he knows at once where duty lies and what it prescribes.

For all that, men in general are greatly, if illogically, influenced by the personal equation. And it is undeniable that schism and heresy have exploited scandals in the high places of the Church as an argument against its divine charter—in spite of the warning of Christ himself—and have used the private lives of a few unworthy Popes as an excuse for disrupting the unity of Christendom, thus weakening its salvific influence and opening the door to the return of paganism. Hence the personal character of the Pope matters more than that of any ruler in the world. On it the weal or woe of mankind may depend far more than on that of a Caesar or a Napoleon, whose private conduct hardly interests the serious historian and is left to court-gossipers like Seutonius or diarists like de Grammont and Pepys. His very office is on trial in his moral character, and he thus carries a weight of responsibility which seems too heavy for a mere mortal to bear.

Must we not regard it then as a signal favour of God, perhaps even as a pledge of some great rebirth of Christianity in the near future, that the whole series of contemporary Popes have been men of outstanding personality and conspicuous holiness. Within living memory six high pontiffs have reigned in the Vatican—Pius IX, Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, Pius XI, and now Pius XII. They have had to confront a world more hostile on the whole than ever since the conversion of Constantine. They have had to steer the Barque of Peter through storms as ugly and as trying as it has ever encountered. Never during the ninety-four years covered by their reigns has their peaceful kingdom been left in peace. The first saw the Patrimony of Peter wrested from him by Garibaldi, the second saw Dr. Falk and the Iron Chancellor trying to force Catholic Germany from its spiritual allegiance, the third saw the French Republic endeavouring to destroy the French Church (and succeeding in destroying the French nation), the fourth saw all Europe in conflagration, the fifth beheld it in deliquescence and disintegration, the sixth looks out upon a whole world in dissolution and a civilisation *in extremis*. Throughout the troubled years there has hardly been a swing of the pendulum in any land, a revolutionary ferment amid any people, a victory of an ideology in any nation which has not been accompanied or followed by an attack on the Catholic Church. The only unifying principle of the history of the whole century has been the *Ecrasez l'Infâme* of Voltaire. But *l'Infâme* survives, and the Illuminati are now liquidating one another—none of them, in spite of their name, seeing the light!

Still light cannot be shut out indefinitely, and the denial of reality means being broken by it in the end. To-day the intellectual adversaries of the Papacy are strangely silent—"for the duration" at least. They are breathless from changing front and uttering recantations; or too occupied in building air-raid shelters against the Frankenstein monster they have evoked but cannot lay. Meantime the Papal Throne rises, as in some miracle play, from out the flaming inferno, lifted by unseen hands and set on high to guide the world

towards peace. The eyes of contemporaries are fixed upon Pius XII as on no other figure of our time. They see in him the only possible peace-maker in a world which needs peace if it is to live at all. They study his character, scrutinise his actions and weigh his words in a manner and to a degree unknown since the sixteenth century at least.

And this new influence or power of the Papacy will be well used. Everything vouches for that. It will be used for peace, real peace based upon natural and divine law. How could it be otherwise? Christ was the Prince of Peace—Isaias wrote it of Him six centuries before He came and the Angels proclaimed it from the skies above the manger where He lay at birth. His message was peace in a universal kingdom of the spirit. His doctrine affords the moral basis of such a peace; and every creed opposed to it or at variance with it does in theory, and must inevitably in fact, produce war—unending war, totalitarian war. That is the logic of the situation; and it is high time that logic, which is nothing but the science of sane thinking, regained its lost ascendancy among men. The age of unreason is necessarily an age of unrest. For without reason man is an animal, and animals fight till they can fight no more. Therefore, for the world now it is the law of Christ or the law of the jungle; and the option can be no longer delayed. "Why do ye hesitate between two sides? If God be God, follow Him; but if Baal, then follow him." It is God or the Baalim of the gentiles to-day as in the days of Elias. But the Baalim, call them by what new-fangled names you will, are all national, local gods, jealous of one another, preying on one another till their worshippers perish by the sword in a perpetual see-saw of strife.

But who so fitted to lead the world back to Christ as His Vicar on earth? Or, to avoid a relapse into controversies that at present have little meaning or relevance, who among contemporaries possesses the prestige or the authority to rally all the discordant sects into which Christianity has dissolved save the central figure of the Christian fold and the unquestioned ruler of that vast flock of believers which constitutes

the great massif of Christendom and without which there would remain nothing but the isolated islands and uninhabited rocks of a submerged continent ?

And how the man is fitted to the task ! Pius XII differs from all his five predecessors, as they differed from one another; but he promises to be as great as any of them. Indeed the unique crisis in the affairs of men makes it almost inevitable that he will add a name to the long list of martyred Popes or mark an era like that of Gregory the Great, Leo the Great, and Innocent III. For day by day, under our eyes, the immense conflict alters its character and always towards the clearer manifestation that the crisis is before all else a human crisis, a crisis of the spirit. Might is breaking down. The irresistible force is meeting the irremovable obstacle. The all-conquering machine is being overcome by the unyielding soul of man ; and that soul must win, and in winning must find God sooner or later ; for like seeketh like, and abyss calleth to abyss. All we can doubt about is the length of the delay, the amount of purgatorial pain still necessary and the precise phases of the process. The end is fixed—and predictable, without prophetic insight, from a consideration of the two polarities, man and God.

It would be easy and agreeable to dwell upon the many endowments, natural and supernatural, which fit the Holy Father for the part assigned to him. His career has been distinguished from the start and in a variety of ways. Even if he had never had greatness thrust upon him, he would have achieved it. Most of all would he have achieved it in that sublimest of all attainments, holiness. There have been times when this was wanting in the occupants of the Chair of Peter. They were rare and are now distant ; but they were tragic times and charged with tragic consequences. They are for us little more than an evil memory erased by a long line of pontiffs who, whatever else they were or were not, exemplified the sacerdotal virtues to a degree that silences criticism.

This is particularly true of the living representative. But just because he is still living, good taste forbids any attempt

to lift the veil from the inner sanctuary of the soul or drag out into the light of day those things which humility, that key virtue, guards jealously from prying eyes. Instinctively one feels that what is alone fitting and most acceptable to him is to rally to his call and aid him in the great campaign on which all his energies are concentrated, to which all his heart is given, the cause of peace. This is so obviously the dominating issue of the moment that it has been the chief preoccupation of Pius XII from the first moment of his reign. He may hereafter be known as the Peacemaker. His family name, Pacelli, the men of peace, sounds like a portent. *Nomina numina*, an old proverb in another context, may be remembered here. If he is baffled in his efforts, it will not be due to any sins of omission on his part but solely to the blind and suicidal obstinacy of men.

The record of the Papacy in the matter of peace since the fatal year 1914 is one of the most glorious chapters in its history. If it has largely and unhappily been a record of failure, it has at the same time been a record of such noble endeavour that the memory of it cannot pass. Four Popes in succession have wrestled with the demon of discord for the soul of humanity, as Michael the Archangel contended with the Devil for the body of Moses. Of these four protagonists in the struggle for peace I should like to say something; but I must confine myself to the efforts of the present Holy Father.

It will be fresh in the minds of all how earnestly Pius XII strove to avert war in August 1939. His efforts were so conspicuous that they received formal and warm acknowledgment from many monarchs and rulers. Few will have forgotten that later request to Signor Mussolini, a day or two prior to Italy's entry into the war, for a personal interview which was not granted. That the Pope's purpose was pacific none can doubt. Indeed he was thanked by the French government for his endeavours in favour of a peaceful arrangement.

But his public utterances are what concern us most, though we shall be forced to omit many and curtail the rest. It might be truly said that our Holy Father has utilised every occasion, no matter how foreign to politics, to say some words

upon the question of world peace—a question which recurs, like a refrain or *leit-motif*, in all his allocutions. He seems haunted by the spectre of a war which grows more inhuman and more disastrous every day and which merely multiplies the problems to be solved while lessening the means of solving them. Confining ourselves, then, to the more formal and precise utterances, we begin with the papal message for Christmas 1939, when hostilities had lasted four months. It is in this we find the Five Points which have become so famous. Here in brief is what they proclaim :—

1. The right to life and freedom of all nations, big and small, powerful and weak. The will to live of one nation must never call for the death sentence on another. When this equality of rights has been destroyed or damaged, then juridical order demands reparation based on justice—not on the sword.

2. Disarmament mutually agreed upon.

3. Juridical institutions to assure faithful application of agreements and, where the need is recognised, to revise and amend them. Such institutions are of vital importance for the honourable acceptance of a peace treaty and for the avoidance of arbitrary and one-sided infringements.

4. Recognition must be given to the needs and just demands of nations, peoples and racial minorities.

5. Agreements, though they may be the best obtainable, will not always be perfect and will be doomed to failure unless the rulers and the peoples become themselves imbued with the spirit of goodwill, with a thirst and hunger for justice and universal love, with a sense of responsibility which measures human actions in accordance with the dictates of divine law.

This manifesto was hailed with gratitude by the plain people everywhere. But the first important expression of public support was given in a joint letter from the leaders of various Christian communities in England to *The Times* of December 21, 1940. This document accepted and endorsed the papal programme, adding the following *Five Standards* :—

1. Extreme inequality in wealth and possession should be abolished.

2. Every child, regardless of race or class, should have equal opportunities.

3. The family as a social unit must be safeguarded.

4. The sense of a divine vocation must be restored to man's daily work.

5. The resources of the earth should be used as God's gifts to the whole human race, and used with due consideration for the needs of the present and future generations.

Within a few days a second Christmas message went out from the Vatican, in which the Pope reinforced his previous Five Points by Five Victories of the Spirit to be won before a genuine peace can be hoped for :—

1. Victory over the hatred which divides the world to-day and over those systems and actions which breed this hatred.

2. Victory over distrust which makes all honest understanding impossible. Loyalty to treaties without which the co-operation of nations is inconceivable.

3. Victory over the dismal theory that utility is the foundation of law, that might can create right. . . . Return to honest, serious and moral international relations.

4. Victory over those potential conflicts arising out of the disequilibrium of world economy. Therefore a new economic order must be gradually evolved which will give all nations the means to secure for their citizens an appropriate livelihood.

5. Victory over the cold egotism which, relying on its own power, sullies the honour and sovereignty of nations and the ordered liberty of individuals. This egotism must be replaced by a sincere Christian solidarity of a legal and economic character and by a brotherly co-operation of the nations.

The Pope had earlier in the message said very rightly : " We live in a world divorced from Christian principles, without which a sound life of nations is unthinkable." His five victories involved the restoration of those principles. That must come or there will be no healing peace ever.

On Easter Sunday, 13 April 1941, His Holiness again recurred to the familiar theme, though he had to admit with sadness that " there seemed as yet but little likelihood of a proximate realisation of a just peace—of a peace, that is, in

accordance with human and Christian laws." Beginning with an expression of the hope that newer and more dreadful methods of warfare might be eschewed by all parties, he added: "Let us pray for an armistice, let us pray for a universal peace—not a peace based upon oppression, upon the destruction of peoples, but for a peace which, while guaranteeing the honour of all nations, will satisfy their vital needs and ensure the legitimate life of all." Christmas, 1941, elicited another long and eloquent message, covering the whole ground once more. Finally, his episcopal jubilee, 13 May 1942, was made the occasion for still another moving appeal to end the war and give peace to mankind.

These utterances have excited world-wide interest; they have been applauded, and even enthusiastically approved, not only by his own spiritual children but by millions who were never Christian at all or have long ceased to be so. This is simply because they express the heart's desire of ordinary folk everywhere, who long for peace and see in them some hope of escape from the recurring nightmare of war. Their value lies in this, that they get down to bedrock and lay the solid foundations of that temple of peace which all dream of erecting, but which cannot be constructed on the shifting sands of military success; for all such success is essentially ephemeral. Its verdict may cow the vanquished for the moment. But it is never held valid by the conscience of the defeated and is often found, by a just irony, a merely Pyrrhic victory—more expensive in the end to the conqueror than to the conquered. If peace is to be of any worth or any duration, it will have to rest on the foundations indicated by His Holiness the Pope.

It is idle to reply, as some do, that abstract principles, however true in themselves, are not an immediate and practical contribution to the solution of the many thorny and complicated problems presented by this vast upheaval. That is utterly erroneous. The character of every detailed arrangement finally made will be determined by the spirit in which it is made. Pius XII does not ignore the extreme delicacy of the statesmen's task. But he tells them plainly that they

cannot accomplish it rightly till they tackle it from the standpoint of the enlightened conscience of mankind. This is the standpoint which alone permits of hopeful approach to international appeasement—this and none other. And it cannot be too loudly or too often proclaimed.

If we compare the Papal Points and Victories with the eight-point document issued jointly by the President of the United States and the Premier of Great Britain, we shall notice certain features in which they agree and certain others in which they differ. It is not for me here either to assimilate or contrast the two programmes. One distinction is, however, clear. An armistice might be signed to-morrow on the basis of the Papal proposals. But the eight-point programme, whatever be its merits or demerits, presupposes a fight to a finish—and to just such a finish as the signatories desire. Their confidence may be justified and they must have strong reasons for it. But even if it is, we may be pardoned some misgiving as to whether a dictated peace in 1943 or 1944 will give any better or more lasting results than did the dictated peace of 1919. And in the meantime the world must bleed at every pore for one, two, three or even more years. And famine or pestilence on an unprecedented scale may make the question of victory or defeat a macabre jest. The Horsemen of the Apocalypse may drive even the night-bomber from the skies. A peace of understanding, hammered out between the combatants while as yet both are strong enough to impose respect for their reasonable claims, has more chance of being balanced and equitable than a peace imposed upon prostrate nations by conquerors whose swords are still red with blood and whose vision is still distorted by the passions of war.

The worst feature of all warfare is that, once begun, it tends to run its full course, ending only when one or other of the combatants sinks prostrate in the dust. Until this happens both sides, trusting to the last in their power to win (though one or other must certainly meet with disappointment), regard the very mention of peace before final victory as treason on the lips of a compatriot and as an impertinence on the lips of an outsider. That is why the peacemaker so

often incurs the enemity of all disputants. Pius XII has not shrunk from this risk.[1] He takes the long view and enjoys the Catholic or universal vision. He knows that it is not the victory which counts, but the use men make of victory. And he sees that all that victory brings could be even better secured without it, provided only the right spirit prevails among the rulers and the peoples opposed to one another. That it prevails as yet may well be doubted. But war itself is a stern schoolmaster. It takes a grim delight in falsifying the expectations of all the belligerents, until it sobers even the most bellicose into a realisation of the truth that Mars is the most ironical as well as the most brutal of false gods.

The day is coming, sooner or later, when the combatants themselves may look around for someone to point the way out of the blood-stained impasse down which the godless principles of power-politics have led the world. When that day comes, we shall hear much more of the papal points—or else we shall never know peace in our time. For the dilemma facing mankind to-day is clear-cut and inexorable : either moral principles supplant physical force as the final arbiter in human affairs, or the reign of violence will continue until our civilisation collapses and passes away, like Babylon, Nineveh and Egypt ; like Carthage, Greece and Rome, like all and every culture based upon the gods of paganism, of whom Swinburne —himself an utter pagan at heart—has rightly said that they divide and devour. They are dividing to-day and devouring, and there is no escape until they are dethroned. That Pius XII may be the instrument of divine providence to effect this dethronement is our hope and our prayer. That he may be long spared to work for it must be surely the ardent desire not only of his own flock but of men of good-will the world over.

P. J. Gannon

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[1] " We are aware that, in the conditions of the present moment, precise formulations or definite proposals of a just and equitable peace would have little probability of success. In fact, every time We speak of peace we run the risk of offending one side or the other. While one side places its hopes in the results achieved so far, the other trusts in future battles. If, however, the present complexity of military and political gains offers no immediate prospects of peace, the destruction caused by the war in the moral and material spheres has reached such a point that it urges Us to increase every valid effort to achieve a rapid end to the conflict. . . ." (Allocution of His Holiness Pius XII, 13 May 1942).

THE DUBLIN TOWN PLAN

BY PROFESSOR PATRICK ABERCROMBIE, M.A., F.R.I.B.A.

Past President of the Town Planning Institute
Professor of Town Planning, University of London
Town Planning Consultant to London and, jointly with
Sydney A. Kelly and Manning Robertson, to Dublin

THE City of Dublin presents exceptional opportunities to the Town Planner. It is a capital city, standing in a magnificent natural setting ; it possesses many great buildings and is laid out, in its major features, on the noble scale characteristic of the late eighteenth century ; it also has the advantage of not having as yet grown excessively large.

In planning its future development, my fellow Consultants and I were faced, not with a series of isolated problems such as deciding on traffic routes, sites for new buildings, open spaces, and so on, but with one problem of which these were different aspects. A town plan has much in common with a jig-saw puzzle, where each piece must interlock with its neighbours to obtain the complete picture. In dealing with an old town such as Dublin, the plan must of necessity take account of existing conditions, and the aim is naturally to obtain the best results with the minimum of disturbance. This does not conduce to symmetrical planning ; in many ways this is an advantage, since it leaves the impress of past history on the town and maintains character, which is too often absent in a geometrically designed new town. Towns designed *de novo* have usually adhered to some consistent pattern, such as the rectangular or the spider's web. In the case of Dublin, various considerations have led us to suggest what amounts to a spiral road system,centred about the main axis—Parliament Street—Capel Street. This spiral can easily be seen on the map.

From this central spiral a series of radials will diverge, approximately equally spaced, towards the circumference of the City. In order to give adequate connection between the

suburban areas, a system of three " ring roads " is proposed at distances of about $2\frac{1}{4}$, 3 and $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the centre of the City.

One of our principal concerns has been how to limit the future growth of the City. It has been one of the major disasters in the great cities of Britain that they have grown to such an extent that the central population has lost touch with the countryside. Not only have suburbs grown in a series of concentric circles like the annual rings in a tree, but the cities have sent out tentacles of " ribbon building " lining the main roads. To combat this, we propose a permanent limit for future growth, fixed at a distance of some four miles from the city centre. Beyond this limit no further urban development will be permitted. Even inside this limit considerable areas of potential building land will be marked as " deferred development " land, which is to say that building development will not be allowed upon it until the inner areas have been built up to the extent intended under the Plan. Thus straggling or sprawl, even within this limited area, will be prevented.

The area outside the ultimate limit of the future City is described as the " Green Belt," and it will consist of agricultural land, recreational lands, woods, aerodromes and the like. Buildings in this area will be limited to those used in conjunction with the use of open land such as farmsteads, sports pavilions, etc. We have calculated that the utmost size which Dublin could attain under these proposals would entail a population of 765,300 ; it is unlikely, in fact, that Dublin will arrive at such a size, but a margin, to allow a certain freedom of choice, should be permitted. The Green Belt is to cover the whole area of County Dublin, with the exception of the portion north of Malahide. This proposal does not mean that the population of the open portions of County Dublin must remain static ; certain " islands " in the form of small self-contained units will be allowed to develop ; such places as Swords, Lucan and Clondalkin will form " Satellites " to Dublin itself. Under our proposals the population of these satellites might rise to 60,000 as against an existing population of 6,100.

While our Green Belt proposals aim largely at keeping the real countryside within reach of the Dubliner, we are equally concerned with ensuring an amplitude of new parks and recreation fields within the City, especially in the neighbourhood of new housing schemes. The area at present available is utterly insufficient, even when allowing for the Phoenix Park, which serves only one portion of the City. Our programme includes, as an essential feature, the provision of adequate playgrounds for the children, spaced in the new housing schemes and throughout the central city in such a way that no child shall have to walk more than one quarter of a mile to get to a playground. This scheme of central playgrounds coincides with our strong recommendation that the central city should be " thinned out." Not only is this prevention of overcrowding essential for the public health, but it is also called for as the most elementary and surest form of " passive defence " in wartime. Sir Raymond Unwin has put it that we have grown up with a wrong conception of what a town should be. We think of a town as a dense agglomeration of buildings with a few spots of green, whereas a town should be an urban pattern set on a background of green. It is not too late to remedy the excessive density of central Dublin building.

Turning now to the problem of central Dublin. Circumstances have conspired in the past to drag the main artery of the city away from the geographical axis at Capel Street to O'Connell Street. A town plan cannot, even if it wishes to do so, completely uproot conditions which have grown up as a result of years of practical use, and under our proposals there is no reason why O'Connell Street should suffer any diminution of its present importance. We should however, without detriment to O'Connell Street, like to bring the geographical axis and the purlieus of St. Patrick's and Christ Church Cathedrals more into the picture. For this and other reasons we propose a vastly widened Parliament Street, with the City Hall at the top of the vista, which would continue down a widened Capel Street.

The two buildings which dominate Dublin are on the quay

—the Customs House to the east of O'Connell Street and the Four Courts to the west of Capel Street. This placing of great buildings along the quays forms a distinctive Dublin tradition, and the pity of it is that the quays between these two buildings should be destitute of any building in the least degree comparable in importance with the Four Courts and Customs House. The stretch of the quay immediately to the east of Grattan Bridge (Capel Street) suggests itself at once as the most commanding site in the City, and it should hold a building greater in its appeal and importance than either the Customs House or the Four Courts.

The site in question is the rectangle bounded by Lower Ormond Quay, Lower Liffey Street, Upper Abbey Street, and Capel Street. This rectangle gives a river frontage of about 950 feet in length, with a depth of 400 feet, covering just over 8 acres. The quays are not at present being used to any adequate advantage, and in visualising their future we have, in our mind's eye, to replace the existing hotch-potch with fine groups of buildings on both banks, set in appropriate gardens and oases of green. If we visualise such conditions, we find here the ideal site for the greatest building and noblest monument of the future Dublin. Only one building presents itself which would fulfil these conditions, and that is the Metropolitan Cathedral. No other building could fitly take its place as the climax to the City. Having come to this conclusion, it was then necessary to inquire as to how far this site was suited for the functions of the building as a centre of worship. In our Town Planning Report we summarised our reasons for suggesting a change from Merrion Square to this river site in the following words :—" We are of opinion that this (Merrion Square) site would not provide the dignity of setting, nor the dominance in the City, which such a building demands." In pointing out that the new site would give approximately the same area as Merrion Square, we continued :—" The main approach, with a wide flight of steps, would face the river. Thus the Cathedral would continue the Dublin tradition of facing its great buildings along the Quays. The Cathedral would occupy a central position, approximately half way

between the Customs House and the Four Courts. Set in a green enclosure and bounded by widened streets, it would be seen to the greatest advantage from across the river and from the neighbourhood of O'Connell Bridge."

As a further contribution to the possibilities of this site, it would allow of a vista of the principal feature of the building —be it tower or dome—down George's Street and its new continuation. Many of the world's greatest buildings are set by the waterside. One can cite St. Mark's and Santa Maria della Salute in Venice ; Notre Dame in Paris, on its low-lying island ; the great Town Hall at Stockholm ; the Houses of Parliament in London and Budapest, and scores of others among the world's finest buildings. Few, if any, other cities are divided as geometrically by a fine river as is Dublin by the Liffey. All the main traffic routes will cross the river in view of the Cathedral site, and the slight bends in the river will allow of the gradual unfolding of the building, from slightly different angles, as one proceeds down the quays.

The regeneration of the quays into the grand conception which we have in mind will, of course, take many years to accomplish, but the work is already begun. The reconstruction of existing buildings on Aston's and Wellington Quays is in hand, and the Corporation is insisting on harmonious elevations and heights of buildings. To the West and almost opposite the new Cathedral site there will arise the new Civic Buildings for Municipal government, giving a counterpart across the river to the fine mass of the Four Courts on the North bank. The widening of Parliament Street to a great central axial way and its continuation along Capel Street will, in conjunction with a wide road bridge where the " Metal " foot-bridge now stands, give a splendid opportunity for processional routes to the Cathedral. As to the practical question of cost, we say quite boldly that this consideration, within any kind of reason, should not be given undue prominence. To put it crudely : a Cathedral which one hopes will last for a thousand years should not be put on the wrong site because that happens to be cheaper than the right one. Admittedly, the best site might be already occupied by some building with

claims of its own ; but, in the case of our proposed Cathedral site, there is no building on the whole site with any claim to architectural or historic merit or value. We have expressed the opinion in our Report that even if ten per cent. of the estimated cost of the building had to be spent on acquiring the site, this necessary expenditure should be faced. This ten per cent. might surely be increased if it is a question of getting the best site or an inferior one, because it might well be argued that no funds should be devoted towards the actual building until a " site fund " had first provided the proper site. One cannot imagine that Irish people throughout the world would be prepared to subscribe to a Cathedral building but not to the acquisition of a site upon which the whole Cathedral project hinges.

One must admit it would be unreasonable to expect the ecclesiastical authorities—even had they the legal powers to do so—to go through the arduous task of negotiations with a multiplicity of existing owners, with all the legal work which this and conveyancing would involve. One would suggest rather that the Government and Municipality should relieve the ecclesiastical authorities of this burden. In view of the national significance of this project few would dispute the wisdom and propriety of such a course.

We have envisaged Dublin holding at its centre a great shrine and focus of public worship, and what could be more appropriate as a thank-offering to God for the restoration of peace when the blessings of peace shall reign once again in the world ?

PATRICK ABERCROMBIE

Comments on the foregoing Article

NO. I.—BY HON. MR. JUSTICE GEORGE GAVAN DUFFY

After a long era of haphazard development, very recently closed, the City of Dublin has been waiting for some definite plan upon which, with its eyes open, to develop progressively from lines well drawn in the eighteenth century, and the achievement of the Town Planning Consultants is now before the citizens. Professor Abercrombie's article glides lightly over the immensity of the labours undertaken by the Consultants and the City officers who co-operated with them. I can express no opinion on the merits of the proposals, but they are the fruits of intensive study by expert planners, and Dublin and its neighbourhood are therefore the richer for the monumental work represented by the Sketch Development Plan. In fact, the compilation of a planners' report and its general endorsement for the City, first by the Town Planning Committee of the Dublin Corporation and then by the Council itself in Committee for General Purposes, make a landmark in the history of the capital. The Consultants have outlined a comprehensive scheme for the replanning and expansion of Dublin " with the least possible disturbance," and the vista now opened up to the residents makes planned development the most valuable activity before them, after the essential housing of the poor, if the apathy of the beneficiaries does not block the way of the architects.

The public cannot be blamed for its ignorance. Twelve years ago planning was virtually unknown among us ; the new Dublin boundary of 1930 actually drew the limits of the City on the near side of adjoining golf courses, despite the risk that the land might be covered with buildings if the leases were to fall in ; and the dreadful disfigurement of the charming Dodder Walk between Dartry and Rathfarnham Road is a recent offence. The Town and Regional Planning Act, 1934, seems to have struck the civic magnates of the day as a questionable innovation, and the official view was that very hesitant progress should be made into the unknown perils lurking behind a fanciful experiment. To-day that attitude is gone ; the happy inspiration of the new law is recognised ; and, while finance will necessarily govern the possible rate of progress, we now have an active and conscientious Town Planning Committee, a City Council welcoming expert advice, and an alert and far-seeing City Manager. Dublin thus has the promise of ordered development under able scientific guidance, if the Dublin public assents. The danger of unsuitable new buildings and other grave mistakes within the City is gone, because the Corporation is in a position to control all private initiative ; and even before the present scheme was drafted, the Town Planning Committee was taking its prophylactic duties very seriously.

The Consultants are alarmed by the continuous influx into Dublin from the country and refer three times to the need for controlling this

immigration. The delimiting of the total permissible population under the scheme, if it goes through, to a prescribed maximum will call for legislation on this troublesome problem; Italy has solved a similar problem only by drastic decrees; the scheme does well to draw attention to the problem in Dublin, where the remedy will need very careful examination. Another question is suggested by the housing plans to which the scheme alludes, the question whether it is wise to create new colonies from the slums in compact areas at once so large and so sharply cut off from the more prosperous neighbourhoods as to give an air, by their size and by their contours, of deliberate segregation and isolation; this is a question of broad social policy for study in existing centres of that description.

There is at the moment an obstacle to development under any scheme extending beyond the City confines. The Dublin Corporation as town planning authority is concerned with the actual City area, but the Corporation is also the regional authority for an area reaching out beyond the County of Dublin, and the City Council considers that any attempt to plan for the region would be premature, until the Legislature has determined how the Metropolitan Area as a whole is to be governed. The report of the "Greater Dublin" Tribunal, in November 1938, showed the need for central and unified direction in the main services for the Metropolitan Area, though there are some technical difficulties to be overcome before any such plan, if approved, can be realised. Now, for planning purposes, the Consultants declare that the present City boundary is utterly inadequate, and in preparing their scheme they have considered the surrounding County as an integral part of the Dublin Area. The result, on the City Council's view, is that there is no competent local authority even to examine the scheme as a whole, because the future administrative position is unsettled. Happily we are reasonably secure in the interval against awkward developments outside the City itself, because the local bodies in charge and their experts are most willing to work in harmony with the City Council's general policy. But the delay in connection with essential portions of the scheme is unfortunate.

There is another difficulty to be met. The City Fathers, as the Consultants recognise, must have the support of an understanding public in carrying out any planning scheme. Now I wonder how many people have paid 2s. for "The Dublin Sketch Development Plan," the booklet so attractively brought out by the Corporation; the answer, I fear, would be disappointing. I think the fact must be faced that the Dublin public still feels little interest in either town or regional planning. Hence the friends of civic progress will have to take effective measures to bring home to the citizens the need and value of planned development for the Metropolis, and they can certainly count on the enthusiastic aid of the able resident Consultant in their task. As a people, we are not at all unwilling to be taught, when we see that we have something to learn;

but, unless I am much mistaken, the fact that town planners really have something to teach in the capital City is not generally accepted in Dublin yet. The feature of Professor Abercrombie's article that I like best is his pleasant way of giving us the persuasive and stimulating kind of instruction calculated to disturb our complacency and rouse our interest. He knows that Dublin's most dangerous enemy is the indifference prevalent in Dublin itself.

GEORGE GAVAN DUFFY

NO. 2.—BY LOUIS F. GIRON, F.R.I.A.I.

President of the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland

WITHIN the limited space at his disposal Professor Abercrombie, in his article on the Dublin Town Plan, gives in simple non-technical language a synopsis of the proposals contained in the report submitted to the Corporation by himself and his co-Consultants, Mr. Sydney Kelly and Mr. Manning Robertson. Three important considerations to which special reference is made are: (1) the limitation of the future growth of the city, (2) proposals for the development of central Dublin, and (3) the site for the proposed Metropolitan Cathedral. The last named is a subject of particular interest to Architects, and I therefore feel privileged in being invited to express my opinion on the matter.

Before I had learned of Professor Abercrombie's proposals, I had formed the opinion that the Merrion Square site was not entirely suitable. It is somewhat remote from the centre of the city and is not sufficiently dominating. I felt that, owing to the nature of the approaches to the Square, a Cathedral there could not be viewed as a whole to advantage; and it also appeared to me to be a pity to build on one of the city's open spaces, if an equally suitable site could be found elsewhere.

The riverside site suggested by Professor Abercrombie—whether by coincidence or not—is practically identical with Merrion Square in size and shape, and it also permits of correct orientation. It is centrally located and possesses the predominant advantage—which in my view is of supreme importance—of having its southern boundary of approximately 950 feet completely open to the Quay. A Cathedral, therefore, on this site could be viewed as a whole for a considerable distance along the south bank of the river and would be in view from all the important bridges; also, the proposed continuation of South Great George's Street would provide a further delightful vista. Dublin is peculiarly fortunate in its gently curving river. There are few of us who have not at some time been thrilled by the view westwards from O'Connell Bridge at sunset, when the distant buildings are silhouetted in delicate blues and greys against the glowing sky; and one can readily visualise the added grandeur which Professor Abercrombie's conception for the Quays would contribute to the view.

Were I as an Architect given a free choice between the Merrion

Square site and the riverside site I should without hesitation select the latter. I am, of course, fully aware of the financial difficulties of the matter; but I consider that, in an important project such as a Cathedral, money spent in the acquisition of the best site is a sound investment.

LOUIS F. GIRON

NO. 3.—BY JOHN J. ROBINSON, M.ARCH., F.R.I.A.I., F.R.I.B.A.

PROFESSOR ABERCROMBIE'S article is mainly a special plea for his Cathedral site, with the situation of which anyone who is interested in the new Town Plan will be familiar. From a planning point of view and from the point of view of a purely architectural concept, no special pleading is necessary. A Cathedral worthy of our Capital City and a symbol of the Faith of our Fathers, placed upon the site in the surroundings visualized by the Professor, would, I think, satisfy even the most critical and would stand as a monument to the greatness of the concept which brought it about.

The case against the Merrion Square site is that it " does not provide the dignity of setting nor the dominance in the City which such a building demands." I do not wish to appear contentious, and I hesitate to criticise a decision recommended and approved by so many experts, but I take this opportunity of presenting some aspects of the matter which have occurred to me, and I need hardly say that I speak as a private individual.

The dominance and dignity of the site suggested by the Professor is achieved by levelling out an area, in the heart of the City, comprising probably not much less than 100 acres. This area is then to be built up into a perfect, or nearly perfect, plan for a city centre. The time to be taken and the cost of levelling process are not indicated. If unlimited funds are available and time does not matter, a civic centre can be made anywhere, certainly as easily in the purlieus of Merrion Square as in that of the City Hall and Capel Street. The case made for the Capel Street City Hall area is :—

1. That the City Hall, admittedly a lovely building but inadequate and unfit for Municipal Offices, exists at one end of a vista, and that the long length of Capel Street would form a fine spina of axis round which grouping and planning can be very effectively achieved.
2. That the Capel Street surround is moribund and not occupied by any building of architectural merit.
3. That most cities in Europe, and indeed generally, have their finest centres to the West.

The plan comprises the destruction of a semi-slum area and its gradual promotion, or shall I say uplift, until in time—a fairly long time—it becomes the finest and most desirable area in the City, thus ultimately

transferring to this purlieu the fashionable shopping centres of Grafton Street and O'Connell Street. The process, being necessarily very gradual, will not entail upon anyone at present living, or even upon the next generation, any considerable hardship. It is, in effect, something like the Kingsway project in London, which was completed in about 25 years at a cost of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions and from which an ample requital ultimately accrued to the L.C.C. in rentals for the fine sites created. But is Capel Street comparable with Kingsway, and can anyone say what the ultimate result will be?

All this means that the building of the Cathedral upon the new site will not commence for about 25 years—and maybe not even then.

A site cost figure of 10 per cent. of the cost of the building is mentioned by the Professor; taking the building cost at two millions, this envisages the respectable total of £200,000. Halving the building cost still leaves the site cost £100,000. I understand that the Merrion Square site cost £10,000. Agreed that the site cost factor, within reason, should not influence choice as between a good site and one not quite so good, but taking site cost, the time factor, and some other considerations into account, there does appear to me to be some sort of a case for Merrion Square.

A fine Cathedral, properly conceived and designed on noble lines, will dominate anywhere, even at the bottom of a deep valley, with buildings climbing on each side and all around it.

Let us keep in mind that the Merrion Square houses, in spite of their gentlemanly and indeed genteel facades, are really very old gentlemen whose days are numbered. They are as moribund as their Capel Street contemporaries in spite of their more orderly old School Tie traditions, and I venture to suggest that their term of survival is just as limited. Moreover, their day is done—the Georgian era is over, and there is little sense in seeking to perpetuate it, except in certain ear-marked places where a few archaeological specimens might well be preserved for the information of future generations. Their conversion into flats or offices makes only a poor compromise, however skilfully it may be carried out. The social structure and conditions which brought them into being have long ceased to exist, and I submit that nothing is left for them but demolition—with possible modern replacement or the creation of open spaces.

The situation of a Cathedral on the Quays would place this building in the midst of a new commercial and municipal centre—a not wholly desirable surround. Adjoining Merrion Square, there are the Government Buildings, the Museum, the Art Gallery, and the Dail. Is it argued that this district, because of these surroundings, is unsuitable? The arguments adduced are lack of dominance and dignity. Distinguished visitors from abroad, whether they be Ambassadors, Kings, Nuncios or others, have invariably entered the City by the Merrion Square route, and it has, for many generations, been the route of ceremonial entry.

Is it not reasonable to suggest that Town Planners might devote some at least of their attention to this important area.

If the Cathedral is to be moved to the north side of the river, why should the Dail, the Government Offices, the Museum, the Art Gallery and the Universities be left on the south side? Is any suggestion made about the erection of a Dail and Senate group to replace the present accommodation which, though skilfully arranged and adapted, is a poor compromise and, I submit, unworthy of the dignity of a National Legislature?

If the Merrion Square houses are due for demolition, so (though possibly in a slightly lesser degree) are those buildings which comprise the block between Upper and Lower Mount Streets and Merrion Square and the Canal. Why not demolish this block and make here a spacious Piazza, with a great National Monument in the centre of it and with the glorious mass of the new Cathedral in the background? It is clear that the demolition factor will involve tedium and delay, but the Cathedral could be started at once—and not in 25 or 50 years time.

The houses to the north and south of Merrion Square could gradually be cleared from Merrion Street to Fenian Street on the north side and from Merrion Street to Lower Baggot Street on the south side, and replaced by buildings set well back on the resultant sites, with a large area of green surroundings. One could even build a new Parliament house on one of them.

This would confer upon the Cathedral a dignity and dominance at least as impressive as the Quay site, and the building would be in appropriate and dignified surroundings. Why should all the grand civic planning be reserved for the north side of the river, when experience has shown that development tends southwards?

A large expenditure is visualised by the Professor in clearing an area from Christ Church to the Quays, so as to open up a vista to Christ Church, the bones of which were shrouded in an erudite Victorian Gothic casing through the munificence of the late lamented George Roe. No doubt, it would mass majestically from a given viewpoint; but is this worth the expense, and would not the money be better used to help out and improve a site already in possession for the new Cathedral?

This is a time for planning and for thought, and every endeavour should be made to think clearly, with our minds divested of preconceived notions of 1914 or before; for thought is a source of power—kinetic—and its results in the field of Town Planning are irrevocable.

May I, as a final word, pay a sincere tribute to Professor Abercrombie and his colleagues for their excellent and most comprehensive report, and may I express a hope that maps illustrating the full project will soon be published, so that all may understand the scope, courage and vision embodied in many of their proposals.

JOHN J. ROBINSON

NO. 4.—BY CONSTANTINE P. CURRAN, M.A.

THE good sense of our eighteenth century town-planners was lost in the industrial revolution of the nineteenth, when the shopman's yardstick replaced the aedile's rod. In the century of our servitude to Manchester the first and last word rested with the money-getter. Reason simply meant a minimum five per cent. We should be strictly practical; we should be thrifty and cautious; we should not move too quickly where the public interest and not a private gain was concerned. The guide of English spiritual life sang

I do not ask to see
The distant scene; one step enough for me.

Hence the encircling gloom and the tragic antistrophe: Too little and too late.

Well, the Dublin Development Plan is happily not little and not altogether too late. It marks the return to reason and points the way of escape from the business man's muddle. It claims, it is true, to be strictly practical—this conventional salute of the trained mind to business is not yet wholly outmoded. It is, in fact, the luminous, orderly and almost inevitable deduction from the existing facts. It gives proper consideration to the needs of decent living, present and future, of industry, of transit and transport, of access to the amenities of the countryside, of the preservation of such amenities in the town and of its architectural beauty and history. It is strictly practical, because it combines intelligent analysis of an existing situation with a translation into concrete terms of the vision without which the people perish.

The two enemies of town-planning are the unbridled, aggressive, short-sighted action of private interests and the penny-wise attitude of constituted authority. They create and permit nuisances and eyesores which are also costly impediments to growth. One could make a long and dolorous litany of such costly obstacles, some of them purely selfish, some immediately beneficial but ultimately harmful by reason of their thrifty, sporadic and ill-considered conception. In 1872, by the skin of our teeth, we escaped a ridiculous elevated railway linking Westland Row with Kingsbridge. Its elevation shows a contraption of Gothic ironmongery which straddled the middle of D'Olier Street and the foot of Westmoreland Street, shut off the view of College Green from O'Connell Bridge and conducted its foul-smelling, filthy and noisy caravan at first-floor level over the sidewalks from O'Connell Bridge to Kingsbridge. That train got lost in the House of Lords; but we did not escape the Loop-Line whereby, for the sake of their few thousand pounds, the railway company and the Port and Docks Board stole from us an unrivalled vista of river and architectural beauty. A year or two ago it was coolly proposed to convert the river east of O'Connell Bridge into the appearance of a covered

sewer or, as amended, a half-open drain, so that free accommodation for a few motor-cars should replace the beauty of its living waters. That scheme was still-born; but the easy provision, on the north side, of a six-mile river park on the Tolka from Ashtown to Fairview Park has been blocked quite recently at one end by the Corporation Dwellings at Poplar Row, a little higher up by their other building scheme at Donnelly's Orchard (which is carried down to the waters' edge) and by the much earlier intrusion, higher up, of private backyards whose perpetual discharge of tin-cans add little to the charm of the river. The banks of the canals and the Dodder are in the same wanton manner interrupted, so that the admirable provision made in the present plan for a double girdle of river-parks is made unnecessarily difficult.

When we consider existing park-spaces in the city we have to lament, in its very heart and in the last few years, the most deplorable degradation of Parnell Square by the Rotunda Hospital authorities—an action entirely at variance with the far-sighted enterprise of its founder. It should by this time be obvious that the rigid preservation of all our open spaces should be a first principle, applying to Church and State and private ownership. For this amongst other reasons the erection of the Cathedral in Merrion Square is to be deprecated, and the purloining of the citizens' privilege of access to the National Gallery and the Natural History Museum through Leinster Lawn is equally reprehensible. A generation is now growing up which does not realise how easily and how frequently people passed from Grafton Street and Kildare Street to those invaluable collections through the Duke's Lawn. At a time of emergency and for an unstated cause this access was cut off; attendances have naturally shrunk and who can measure the loss? Certainly a locked gate between the National College of Art and the National Gallery is a significant symbol.

In our streets the same absence of planned control diminishes our amenities and creates nuisances and eyesores. To preserve a few pounds in rates an overzealous rate-controller vetoed such a slight rectification of alignment of two houses in the lower section of Grafton Street as would have given us a fine view of the Bank of Ireland from Nassau Street corner. The Rathmines Commissioners permitted a whole esplanade along Rathmines Road to be built on, and such a conglomeration of amorphous shop-fronts have been projected over front gardens as to turn into a shop slum a road that an enthusiastic friend of mine used to compare with a well-known view in Innsbruck. But such regrettable incidents—in their totality not insignificant—are more easily remedied than the trouble caused by the planning and erection of whole building schemes, on apparently economical sites, by different authorities without proper consideration of the city approaches and the ultimate needs of a whole region. To analyse those disasters would require space and many maps.

One can see, from the present plan, how some of this lesser ill-considered work must be undone and the larger obstacles with difficulty overcome.

In nothing is this plan more reasonably conceived than in its bold treatment of the ways of approach to the centre of the city from the new suburbs. In securing them our Town Planning Committee, with Professor Abercrombie and his colleagues, have most skilfully succeeded in bringing the breath of life back to decaying quarters of the old town—I refer to the proposed new centres in the Francis Street, Christ Church and St. Patrick's areas. Speaking broadly, by a skilful and gradual broadening and adaptation of existing routes new thoroughfares are provided east and west of the overworked North Frederick Street—Stephen's Green artery, crossed by routes parallel with the river and furnished with two new bridges. At the northern end of these thoroughfares a new radial centre is provided towards which our most important country roads already converge. Into this radial centre on the north side, near the old Linen Hall site, five such routes will be brought together before again diverging. Of these only one is new—the proposed link from the Cabra area through the grounds of the Richmond Asylum by a widened Grange-gorman Lane. On the south-east there are already five available routes, including an improved coast-road, and five more on the south-west which will include three new ones : one from Inchicore *via* Marrowbone Lane to a new circle at St. Nicholas of Myra in Francis Street ; the second from Crumlin and Dolphin's Barn, *via* this new circle, to a renovated Christ Church Place ; and the third from Crumlin south by Portobello to the same terminus.

As is indicated in Professor Abercrombie's article, a new dignity is given to the river and to these areas. It could be added to—quite apart from the Cathedral site—by a further concentration of river-front Government Offices, especially those of a legal and record character, in the vicinity of the Four Courts. As at present advised, it seems to me a regrettable feature of the scheme—I suppose from its municipal origin—that it assumes as permanent the present position of the Oireachtas, which has as its consequence an extension of Government Offices in that neighbourhood. I had thought that this area of culture was a land permanently dedicated to the Muses when its pressing need made the Government take over the R.D.S. and the College of Science. It seems a pity that a sudden emergency should be the basis of a lasting development. I should certainly have preferred to see the new quarters of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce on a river-site near the business area of Dame Street and near the Castle financiers. On the site in Kildare Street the Government would have earned our enduring thanks by the erection of the much needed concert hall.

Le mieux est l'ennemi du bien, and I should be particularly slow to introduce any element of difference from a considered scheme where so much depends on the interlocking of the parts of an integral plan. But

when one comes to the Cathedral site, there is nothing disturbing to the plan in at least one alternative proposal. This question very properly absorbs general attention and good-will. At the outset I should say that, while there is nothing but satisfaction at the step already taken towards the erection of the cathedral by the acquisition of Merrion Square, this satisfaction is for the most part strictly limited to its ancillary value as a negotiable instrument. For Merrion Square as the actual site I have found little enthusiasm and a general conviction that at best it is a second best and therefore not good enough. My own conviction is that we should never build on an existing city open space, nor do I think we should unnecessarily attempt to alter the already settled character of this professional area. Also, the site itself is not sufficiently commanding. Whether for these reasons or not, I observe that it receives no approval from the Town Planning Committee or their Consultants. The question seems to me to be still open and, thanks to the foresight of the ecclesiastical authority, the Square remains an asset which can be exchanged with the Government and Municipality for a cleared site in the ideal position.

We are all agreed that the site should be in such a commanding place as to provide the very best architectural vista. Such a site must therefore be a river-site or some sufficiently dominant elevation. The Consultants' site is the best river-site. Many other sites have been canvassed in my time. Archbishop Walsh favoured a nearly equivalent position at Liffey Street, but the multiplicity of private interests made its acquisition impossible in the circumstances of his day when compulsory powers were absent. The highest suitable land is in the Broadstone area, and an alternative proposal was the Blessington Basin site nearby with improved access from the north. Still another is a position abutting on Mountjoy Square and Grenville Street, with a new diagonal processional way debouching at the Parnell monument. A third alternative has its roots in the early Geddes-Abercrombie days; it commands an important body of expert opinion and has the additional advantage of fitting in with and perfecting the new radial centre at the old Linen Hall. This Linen Hall site comprises an area of some ten acres on the slope rising north of N. King Street and Lisburn Street and abutting on the King's Inns' Gardens. Already sufficiently conspicuous and served by all the northern radial roads, this site would be made splendidly visible by a proposed wide park-way to the south, through part of the present markets, down to the bridge at Chancery Place. Opposite the new spectacular improvement between Christ Church and the river, it would also establish a fine architectural relation between the Four Courts and the Cathedrals and would link the new Cathedral with its earliest ecclesiastical and civic history.

C. P. Curran

FATHER JOHN THAYER OF NEW ENGLAND AND IRELAND

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ONE of the first converts, and the most conspicuous in the eighteenth century, to the Catholic Church in the United States was John Thayer. The fourth son of well-circumstanced parents, Cornelius and Sarah (Plaisted) Thayer, he was born in Boston, May 15, 1758, when there was probably no known Catholic in the city although among the Scotch-Irish, who were far from welcome, there may have been an occasional Irishman of Catholic background who was deprived of all religious services. Indeed in practice, if not in statute, the penal code affecting Catholics was quite as rigorous in New England as it was in the British Isles, and possibly more so ; for northern New England, at that moment, faced the dangers of a French-Indian invasion with the English and French empires at war. Again New Englanders were further embittered because Yankee captives in Quebec had actually embraced the religious faith of their conquerors.[1]

Despite irregular preparation, Thayer proceeded to Yale College where he was awarded a war-time degree, possibly an honorary baccalaureate, in 1779.[2] Licensed to preach after study with the Rev. Charles Chauncey, though not a regularly constituted minister, he filled various Congregational pulpits as a visitor and acted as a chaplain at Castle William in Captain William Burbeck's company under Governor John Hancock in 1780–1781. Apparently, it was in this connection that he had his first glimpse of Catholicism as practised by French soldiers and sailors.

In the autumn of 1781, with most of the revolutionary fighting over, Thayer went to Paris, as he explained later in his autobiographical account, for self-improvement :—

> I felt a secret inclination to travel. I nourished the desire and formed a resolution of passing into Europe, to learn the languages which are most in use and to acquire a knowledge of the constitution of states, of the manners, customs, and laws, and governments of the

[1] All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

principal nations, in order to acquire, by this political knowledge, a greater consequence in my own country and thus become more useful to it. Such were my human views, without the least suspicion of the secret designs of Providence, which was preparing for me more precious advantages.

Quite naturally the unbelieving American minister at Paris, Benjamin Franklin, bluntly and brusquely declined Thayer's proffered services as personal chaplain with the alleged observation that he "would say his own prayers and save his government the expense of the chaplaincy." Of this Franklin later wrote to his sister: "Tell my Cousin Colas that the parson she recommended to me is gone to Rome and, it is reported, has changed his Presbyterianism for the Catholic religion."[3] Mrs. John Jay, more religious if less tolerant, grieved that Dr. Franklin of all the foreign ministers in Paris had no chaplain when one would have been so useful for Americans without a place of worship or means of religious instruction.[4]

Soon after his arrival in Paris, Thayer became seriously ill; but, as a God-fearing Puritan, he refused to allow a priest to enter his chamber. On recovery he spent a few weeks in England, where on invitation he preached. Thereupon, he journeyed to Marseilles and thence to Port Creole, where he was entertained by the mayor, Marquis d' Elmore. Proceeding to Rome, he anticipated, rather hopefully, to see Catholicism at its worst. Apparently Thayer was disappointed; for, according to his autobiographical account, he met a number of Italians, including two Jesuits and an Augustinian friar, whose tactful kindness to him, a Protestant stranger in Rome, "dispelled the bitterness of his early prejudice." With the Jesuits he entered into disputations, as might be expected of an argumentative and half-educated Yankee of ingrained prejudices and an arrogant obstinacy. Worsted in these discussions, he became convinced that "Protestantism was not the religion of Jesus Christ" and hence sought religious instruction. In a Roman café he heard of crowds who sought the tomb of a holy mendicant, Benedict Joseph Labre, where miraculous cures challenged attention. He went to witness

and expose the frauds, but returned convinced of the supernatural character of cures attested by medical jurors. As an honest man, he sought out the café to retract his observations about charlatanry. Soon, in the presence of Protestant friends, he was received into the Church, May 25, 1783.

Experiencing a religious calling, he studied theology at the College of Navarre and at Saint Sulpice in Issy, Paris. Hardly in the seminary, Thayer visited John Adams, at Auteuil, whom he knew in Boston, and, according to Mrs. Adams, "he began to question Mr. Adams if he believed the Bible, and to rail at Luther and Calvin; upon which Mr. Adams took him up pretty short and told him that he was not going to make a father confessor of him, that his religion was a matter that he did not look upon himself accountable for to any one but his Maker, and that he did not choose to hear either Luther or Calvin treated in such a manner." Thayer was not encouraged to return. The papal nuncio, who called on Franklin to report that the latter's recommendation resulted in the papal selection of John Carroll as superior of the Catholic clergy in America, spoke lightly of the Bostonian convert who would convert his people before he knew his religion and reported that he had advised him to remain in France.[5] A writer in the *Jesuit*, fifty years later commenting upon the growth of the Catholic Church in Massachusetts, referred to his acquaintance with Thayer when he was a deacon in Saint Sulpice[6] under Rev. Francois Charles Nagot, S. S., who came to Baltimore in the spring of 1791.

Samuel Breck, a student at the Sorèze military school, whose wealthy merchant father had been fiscal agent for the French forces in America, visited the seminary and conversed with Thayer on licence of the principal, "an indulgence seldom allowed to candidates for holy orders during the probationary period when they are secluded from the world and from books except such as are rigidly theological." Breck, who became a Catholic through Benedictine influence and later reverted to a lukewarm Protestantism, wrote in retrospect: "He was designed for a missionary effort among the sturdy Presbyterians of his native town; and hopeless as the

task appeared, he undertook it two years later and succeeded in laying the foundation of a flourishing Roman Catholic Church and diocese governed by M. de Cheverus, who is now Archbishop of Bordeaux and a peer of France."[7] On June 2, 1787, Thayer was ordained by the Archbishop of Paris and thereafter was lionized by ecclesiastical friends as the first converted American divine.

Father Thayer had grand designs for the conversion of his fellow Puritans; and so exaggerated were the hopes that he inspired that some of his zealous supporters urged that he be named a bishop in the States. In 1787, Father John Thorpe reported from Rome to Charles Plowden: "I ought to have mentioned that Thayer, who is now in Holy Orders at Paris, is represented by his French friends as the man to be most proper of all others to be sent as Bishop into America."[8] At this moment, Thayer published an account of his religious experiences and his conversion which was circulated widely in French, Spanish and Portuguese editions.[9] This story was said to have led the Huguenot Montaurais to the seminary at Avignon, where he received minor orders on the eve of the French Revolution. At Paris Father Thayer was accredited with bringing into the Catholic Church several English and Scottish Protestants.

Leaving France in 1788, Thayer went to London where he spent two years as a missionary under Vicar Apostolic James Talbot whom he notified that, "burning with zeal to impart to others the felicity which he experiences, he offered himself to the Chief Pontiff for missions in America." He asked Talbot for the ablest controversial works, as he expected crosses in America. Samuel Breck, who had promised to aid Thayer on his arrival, carefully preserved the consignments of books shipped in his care. It would seem that the nuncio in Paris, to whom the matter of his going was broached, was not impressed by Thayer's prudence; however, Msgr. John Carroll wrote, April 14, 1789, to Cardinal Leonardi Antonelli that he eagerly awaited the arrival of Thayer.[10]

Shipping to Havre-de-Grace or Baltimore, he journeyed northward to Boston, where he arrived on January 4, 1790,

and almost immediately notified Carroll of the wretched condition of the congregation and its new chapel, Holy Cross Church on School Street, which had been formerly used by French Huguenots but which had been leased to accommodate a Catholic population of French and Irish people who totalled less than a hundred souls in a city of 18,000. They had been attended by Abbé Claude Florent de la Poterie[11], who may have been a dismissed chaplain from the French fleet and who was reported by the archbishop of Paris to be without priestly credentials. He had obtained faculties from Msgr. Carroll (December 1788) only to have them suspended when the bishop learned of his character. M. Poterie, thereupon, published an attack upon Carroll and his Jesuit priests, for the most part English gentlemen, and filled the press with his cause and his charges.[12] Thus the little congregation was torn with dissension and racial factionism when the zealous Thayer arrived ready at a moment's notice to replace Poterie's successor, the ill-fated but well-intentioned Louis Rousselet, possibly a former chaplain in the French service.[13]

Well publicized in the press, Thayer said Mass on the Sunday following his arrival and was served by Breck, who explained in later life that, with the consent of his family (wealthy merchants with foreign connections), he aided Thayer establish his chapel—" which was done with all manner of solemnity and without the smallest opposition, for persecution in Boston had wholly ceased." While not correct about the first Mass,[14] Breck continued his story of the transformed Huguenot meeting-house, which was leased for ten years through arrangements with the Perkins family : " At length everything was prepared to solemnize the first public Mass that was ever said in Boston, in a town where the thirteen years before the Pope and the Devil were annually promenaded through the streets and finally burned together, leaving it doubtful then which was the greater rascal of the two." At this Mass Breck " carried around the begging-box."[15]

Thayer described local conditions to Carroll : an impoverished congregation incapable of supporting two priests ; a small debt incurred for chapel equipment ; the presence of

the suspended Poterie, who had returned from Quebec and whose tutoring in Latin, French and Italian failed to lift him out of poverty; and the ineffectiveness of Abbé Rousselet on account of his broken English. He urged that Rousselet be assigned another parish and that he himself be made ecclesiastical superior for all New England:

> I once more beg you not to put me in shackles by permitting any priest to officiate in the N. England States unless authorized by me. In this town especially one priest is sufficient at present. My reason for mentioning this so often is the fear lest religion—which is at present at an ebb—shall suffer from some intruder. I should wish for an authentic paper in Latin from you constituting me superior of the mission in N. England under you, which I might be able to show to every arriving priest. I suppose, Sir, you believe my intention so pure as not to wish this from desire of domination or superiority.

Bishop Carroll filed this tactless letter with a note on its back: "Sollicits the Superiorship of N. E. States," and obviously denied the request.[16]

Boston did not receive Thayer badly, even though he was labelled "John Turncoat," for the "pervert" as a Romish priest with an excellent command of English was an exhibit where the Catholicism was associated with the French, the hated Spanish, and the despised Irish. As an emotional Yankee who had gone wrong, he merited compassion. For this friendliness, Thayer was grateful as he noted in his letter to the Bishop: "The reception which I received from the Governor, from the ministers, from my family, and in time from all classes of people is the most flattering and is an omen perhaps of good success; though I am prepared for you to expect opposition."[17] Even after an experience of six months, Thayer could write to a correspondent:—

> I have . . . been received with the most flattering attention. My own relatives expressed the greatest joy at my return. The Governor of the State, whose chaplain I formerly was, has promised to do all in his power to forward my views . . . I have received nothing but kindness and attention from the ministers . . . Many of them have visited me and evinced a degree of cordiality which I had little reason to expect. The officers of the custom-house have also carried their politeness so far as to be unwilling to take anything

for the many large boxes which I had procured from France and England . . .

On the first Sunday, . . . I announced the word of God, and all flocked in crowds to hear me. A great degree of curiosity is manifested to become acquainted with our belief, and this fair toleration allowed here has enabled me to enter into a full exposition . . .

On every occasion the Protestants evinced the same eagerness to . . . hear me, but they content themselves with that. The indifference and philosophy which prevail here . . . are an obstacle to the fruit of preaching . . . which does not . . . discourage me. I have had the pleasure of receiving a few recantations.[18]

Soon bitter strife broke out between Thayer and Rousselet abetted by the Irish and French factions in the little congregation. Thus disgrace befell the Church which was on trial in an unfriendly community. Relentless, Thayer would force the removal of his alien and royalist rival, but Bishop Carroll as a southerner did not understand the temperament of New Englanders and believed that the Frenchman was a priest of excellent character. Hence he left Rousselet in charge, but Thayer held the lease to the church and withstood eviction by his rival without standing in law.[19] Only on his return from Europe did Carroll become aware of " the priest's unfortunate mode of conduct," an expression which is hardly enlightening. In a letter to Cardinal Antonelli, Bishop Carroll observed that " things in that mission were not very tranquil, because one part of the congregation desired to retain Father Thayer, and another part, his predecessor, and it is impossible for the two of them to be maintained."[20] Carroll's friendships were English, but he was familiar with and appreciative of French Catholics as victims of the Revolution. On the other hand " he mistook the character and importance of the tumultuous congregation of the Irish, which to his great surprise, and perhaps annoyance, made their presence felt as soon as he assumed the reins of episcopal government."[21]

Indeed there was a petty schism when one of Rousselet's supporters called upon Doctor Samuel Parker, a tolerant Episcopalian divine, to read funeral prayers over M. de Larive, former treasurer at Guadalupe, and when on his return Father

Rousselet held requiem services in Parker's church. Again mutual accusations and recriminations in speech and in the press passed between the two priests and their proponents.

Father Thayer communicated his complaints to Father Leonard Neale, acting as vicar general while Carroll was in England for his consecration at Lulworth Castle. On the bishop's return, Thayer's further complaints of the intolerable situation in Boston[22] were answered by the suspension of Rousselet and the appointment of Thayer as pastor (June 1791). Yet Carroll had misgivings about Thayer after a warning from Father Thorpe (Rome, Aug. 11, 1790) to the effect: "It will be necessary to have a priest of friendly eye over Mr. John Thayer, of Boston; his passion for more independence than any Apostle in God's Church ever had or desired, may involve himself and others in great difficulties."[23] Rousselet turned to the Indian missions and went to Guadalupe, where he was guillotined as a royalist while he won merit in preparing his fellow-unfortunates for death (1794).

Carroll visited Boston and compromised the congregation's racial difficulties, which were leading toward schism and scandal and which were keeping away interested Protestants. The bishop was well received and, on his return from Baltimore, he expressed his gratitude to Governor Hancock in the affectedly subservient tone of the day. He pronounced benediction at a banquet of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery. In all he was as pleased as he was astounded judging from a letter written from the Puritan stronghold:—

> It is wonderful to tell what great civilities have been done to me in this town, where a few years ago a 'popish' priest was thought to be the greatest monster in creation. Many here, even of their principal people, have acknowledged to me that they would have crossed to the opposite side of the street rather than meet a Roman Catholic some time ago . . . I am very sorry not to have here a clergyman of amiable, conciliatory manners, as well as of real ability.[24]

In the meantime, November 24, 1790, the zealous and militant convert, somewhat after the manner of an evangelist exhorter, announced through the public press:—

> Mr. Thayer, Catholic priest of Boston, fully persuaded that he has found the inestimable treasure of the Gospel, is greatly desirous

of imparting it to his dear countrymen. For this purpose, he offers to preach on the evenings of the week-days in any of the neighboring towns. If any persons desire to hear the exposition of the Catholic faith (of which the majority of Americans have so mistaken an idea) and will furnish any place for the accomodation of hearers, Mr. Thayer will be ever ready to attend them. He will also undertake to answer the objections any gentleman would wish to make, either publicly or privately, to the doctrine he preaches.

As a result of this challenge to religious debate, George Leslie, a Congregational minister of Washington, New Hampshire, took up the cudgels in the press. A debate was arranged for January 26, 1791. Waiting in vain about a year for Leslie's reply, Thayer published as a brochure the *Controversy between the Rev. John Thayer, Catholic Missionary of Boston, and the Rev. George Leslie, Pastor of a Church in Washington, New Hampshire* (1793).[25] This controversy was followed by one in the *Centinel* (July 1792) with John Gardiner, a lawyer, whose debate was more abusive and personal in tone.

President Ezra Stiles of Yale College, no bigoted man for his era, confided to his diary a rather harsh impression of his guest, John Thayer: "Born at Boston a Protestant, commenced his Life of Impudence, Ingratitude, Lying and Hypocrisy, irregularly took up preaching among the Congregationalists, went to France and Italy, became a Proselyte to the Romish Church, and is returned to convert America to that Chh. . . . Of haughty, insolent and insidious Talents."[27] This was not a surprising estimate of an ex-Congregationalist whose excessive missionary zeal ran so counter to the ideals and prejudices of the old order. Yet for this thankless work among Puritans Thayer had undeniable talents, which a critical acquaintance had in mind when he described him as a "real Dreadnought in adventures."[27]

Word reached Bishop Carroll that Father Thayer declared that he would not leave Boston even at the command of his ordinary. To Carroll's demand for an explanation, Thayer replied on June 13, 1791:—

> The subscriber having been charged with saying that he would not obey the Bishop but place himself under the jurisdiction of the Pope in case he should be ordered by the Bishop to leave Boston,

hereby declares that he does acknowledge and will submit to the authority of the Bishop in case his removal should be required by him and this shall be binding upon him until a general regulation respecting the power of the Bishop in removing Clergymen be settled by common consent of the American clergy.

A few months later, November 10, 1791, he attended the first national synod held in Baltimore which set forth regulations for the governance of the Church in the United States.[28]

When the distinguished French priest, Francis Anthony Matignon (1735–1818), arrived from England, he was made pastor of Boston, August 20, 1792, and Francis Ciquard was sent to the Indians in Maine. This permitted Thayer to spend his time in outlying missions, and it gave the Catholics of Boston relief from turmoil. Matignon was fortunate in the time of his ministry, for Puritan divines were converted, by fear of radicalism, Jacobinism and revolution, from their former hatred of "Romanism" and ceased their pulpit attacks. England's acceptance of thousands of refugee priests had its effect upon the attitude of New England Federalists. Matignon and his remarkable associate, Jean Louis Lefebvre de Cheverus, were respected as scholars, admired as victims of Jacobinism, and appreciated for their unaggressive zeal. It was easier to accept an emigré priest of the old order than a unique Puritan transformed into a Catholic priest.

As an itinerant missionary in almost every town of any consequence in New England, Thayer was at his best; as a native, he was at home in any Puritan centre which he invaded as a preacher of detested doctrines. Thayer found his way to Norwich, Connecticut, in the hopes of locating unknown Catholics (for this town had only one recognized Irish Catholic as late as 1824 in a population of four thousand) and of attracting a Protestant audience. At least, he found a curious audience and challenged favourable attention, according to the local journal, on November 14, 1793:—

On Friday last Mr. John Thayer, Catholic missionary, delivered to a large audience at the Rev. Joseph Strong's meeting-house in this city, a learned and ingenious discourse in which he undertook to prove that the Catholic Church was the only true church of Christ. On Sunday evening following . . . he delivered a discourse on the pro-

priety and true piety of invoking departed saints and the utility and efficiency of addressing prayers to them.[29]

Late in 1793, Father Thayer was assigned by Bishop Carroll to care for a small congregation in Alexandria, Virginia, where Colonel John Fitzgerald must have found it difficult to get along with Thayer, who was hardly settled when he wrote to Bishop Carroll on January 24, 1794 : " At Alexandria we have no place of worship, nor any prospect of having one. I have Mass at the Colonel's, but I don't think it very agreeable to him, though he says nothing. He seems rather to regard the priest, upon the whole, a burden. I find myself a kind of intruder the few days there, and there is no other place." In July 1794, his request for an *exeat* from the diocese was refused by Bishop Carroll :—

> I cannot easily resolve myself to grant you a letter of *exeat* while the Diocese is in such pressing need of Clergymen ; nor can I think that the reason alleged—to wit, your difficulties concerning Negroes—is sufficient to justify either your departure from the service of the Diocese or my allowance of it. While you confine yourself within the bounds of solid doctrine, you may act freely and unrestrained by any ecclesiastical interference in remedying the abuses of slavery ; and when you have done your duty, if all the good effect possible and desirable does not ensue from your endeavors, you must bear that, as every pastor must bear the many disorders which will subsist in spite of his most zealous exertions.[30]

Again, April 10, 1795, Thayer wrote to his bishop : " I wish you would quicken Colonel Fitzgerald with respect to the building of the chapel. It depends wholly upon him—an acre of ground being already given by Mr. Alexander for the purpose." It would seem Fitzgerald was active enough, because a small chapel, with a cemetery, was built in 1796. But Thayer, as a Puritan and as a rigorous opponent of slavery, was quite unhappy during these three years in the slave state of Virginia.

In 1796 one hundred and twenty-one Catholic laymen of St. Peter's, New York City's first Catholic Church, petitioned for Thayer as an assistant, contrary to the wishes of their pastor, Father William O'Brien, O.P. Their request was denied by Bishop Carroll. Later in this year Thayer seems

to have gone to Canada, for Bishop Jean Francis Hubert of Quebec wrote to Carroll, November 26, 1796: "I have not given him any encouragement to stay with us." Thereupon he must have returned to New England, for he was in Hartford in 1796, "always in difficulties yet serene in his brave but blundering endeavour to spread the truth."[31] On May 9, 1798, he delivered a sermon in his first parish in conformity with President Adams' recommendation for a day of humiliation and prayer throughout the United States.[32] While the date is not clear, Thayer was accepted by the trustees as the first pastor of Albany where a church was erected in 1798.[33]

Within a year Thayer was assigned by Bishop Carroll to assist Father Stephen Badin in Kentucky and soon appeared in that vast wilderness, where he took up his residence in Scott County. Despite his conflicts over slavery and his severe Puritan attitudes, he thrived on the frontier.[34] Yet his inability to manage his missions gave Badin no end of trouble, but Badin was strict, no Republican and a Frenchman. Leaving Kentucky, about 1803, under a cloud of certain gossipy charges of divulging confidences, Thayer departed for England to the relief of Bishop Carroll who had withdrawn his faculties. Here he remained as a missionary for some time before proceeding to Dublin and finally to Limerick.

In Catholic Ireland, according to a letter written in 1816 by Simon Gabriel Bruté, later the first bishop of Vincennes,[35] Thayer found happiness and won esteem "as a priest of edifying piety and ascetic life" who devoted his attentions to the poor. Aside from excursions to England and to the continent—as to the monastery of La Trappe in 1807—he remained rather steadily in Limerick, where he made his home over the store of Bourke, a glover, and then with James Ryan, a clothing merchant, at the sign of the Golden Eagle. He preached controversial sermons at St. Michael's and St. John's churches, taught catechism, won fame as a confessor in the box nearly all day, and lived the life of an ascetic who fasted, confined himself to a vegetable diet and kept unheated lodgings. He is said to have encouraged Irish emigration to

America. Bent upon inducing Irish priests to volunteer for the American missions, he offered to pay their expenses.

Determined to establish a convent in Boston, he managed to collect several thousand dollars for this purpose. In vain he applied to convents in Dublin and in London for volunteers for his cherished project. Thereupon he enlisted and trained his own postulants, among them Ryan's daughters, Mary and Catherine, who had been educated by the Ursulines at Thurles. In the midst of this project he died from dropsy at Ryan's home, Feb. 17, 1815; and the *Protestant Orthodox Journal* (London) observed :—

> This lamented and much esteemed individual was a native of Boston . . . of respectable parents, gifted with great genius, a liberal mind and unbounded love of study. He lived and died in the communion and ministry of his adoption, in a manner worthy of his eminent virtues and pious simplicity—he decked religion in mildness and he reclaimed the wanderer by captivating the heart. In the social circle he was completely the gentleman, the scholar and the wit . . . No wonder his death is lamented—but his is the death of the just.

Thayer bequested a trust fund of about ten thousand dollars to Father Matignon for the foundation of a convent. Thus it was Thayer's idea which gave a beginning to education beyond first lessons for girls of any religious denomination in New England. As an historian of the diocese has well stated, Thayer did valiant service and "many New Englanders, laymen and ministers, in the century since have entered through the breach which John Thayer opened with his bare, blundering hands."[36] In 1817 his Irish postulants were established at a convent in Three Rivers, Quebec, for further training. Two years later, they founded the Ursuline Convent in Boston, which, removed to a site near Bunker Hill (dedicated to freedom) in 1826, became famous when it was fired and destroyed by an anti-Catholic mob on the night of August 11, 1834.

RICHARD J. PURCELL

NOTES

[1] See, Emma L. Coleman, *New England Captives Carried to Canada between* 1677 *and* 1760 (1941).

[2] Percival Merritt in his authoritative and meticulous research paper "Sketches of the Three Earliest Roman Catholic Priests in Boston" (*Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 25 (1923), 173–229) points out that Noah Webster indicated his

annoyance by noting on his copy of Thayer's *Conversion*, "a classmate of mine and a charity scholar with some genius, but an impudent, lying, obstinate temper."

[3] Jeremy Belknap *Papers*, III, 261.

[4] Frank Monahan, *John Jay* (1935), 218.

[5] Quoted from Franklin's *Journal*, July 1, 1784 by Merritt, *loc. cit.*, 215.

[6] Nov. 16, 23, 1833.

[7] H. E. Scudder, *Recollections of Samuel Breck* (London, 1877), 83f., 116.

[8] Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll* (1922), 260.

[9] In London, late in 1787, he published *An Account of the Conversion of the Reverend Mr. John Thayer, lately a Protestant Minister*. In all some 26 editions with variations are noted by Merritt in an exhaustive essay, "Biographical Notes on An Account of the Conversion of the Rev. John Thayer" in *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 25 (Jan., 1923), 129–140. A Dublin edition appeared in 1809 and one in Philadelphia as late as 1837. They were in German, French, Portuguese and Latin. See, Finotti, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (1872), 240f.

[10] Guilday, *Carroll*, 287.

[11] For this peculiar priest and tutor in French. Merritt, *loc. cit.*, 174–190.

[12] Pamphlet ascribed to him, *A Resurrection of Laurent Ricci; or a True and Exact History of the Jesuits* (Philadelphia, 1789). W. F. Kenney, *Centenary of the See of Boston* (1909), 190.

[13] Merritt, *loc. cit.*, 191–211.

[14] The first public Mass was said by Poterie, Nov. 2, 1788. Masses may have been said earlier by French chaplains of the military and naval forces during the Revolution. *Boston Gazette*, Nov. 3, 1788 quoted by Merritt, *loc. cit.*, 177. If "firsts" are important, the *Weekly Rehearsal* (Boston), March 20, 1732 reported: "We hear that Mass has been performed in town this winter by an Irish Priest among some Catholics of his own nation, of whom it is not doubted we have a considerable number among us."

[15] Scudder, *op. cit.*, 116 f.

[16] From Baltimore archdiocesan archives in *Catholic Historical Researches* (hereafter, *Researches*), 28 (1911), 99 and in Merritt, *loc. cit.*, 217.

[17] Ibid.

[18] July 17, 1790 quoted in James Fitton, *Sketches of the Establishment of the Church in New England* (1872), 85. *U.S. Cath. Mag.*, VIII, 116, *Researches* 18 (1901), 41.

[19] *Diary of William Bentley* (1905–1914), I, 192.

[20] Guilday, *op. cit.*, 424.

[21] Archbishop J. T. McNicholas, O.P. (ed.), *Occasional Sermons and Addresses of Archbishop Dowling* (1940), 189.

[22] *Researches*, 16 (1899), 198.

[23] Baltimore archives, quoted Guilday, *Carroll*, 424.

[24] *U.S. Cath. Mag.*, VIII, 149; Guilday, *Carroll*, 425.

[25] Large portions appeared in the contemporary local press as well as an edition in Philadelphia (1795). The Leslie-Gardiner disputations were published in Dublin (1809).

[26] *Literary Diary*, III, 416 (1791).

[27] On learning of his death Bentley noted in his *Diary* (IV, 363): "He was a man who had little in his manners or person to recommend him, but was a real Dreadnought in adventures. He has officiated at my home. But was always thought worse of than ever deserved. Upon the whole he was as sincere in religion as in anything."

[28] Baltimore archives, quoted *Researches*, 9 (1892) 42; Guilday, *Carroll*, 432.

[29] F. M. Caulkins, *History of Norwich* (1845), 472, 673. See B. T. Marshall (ed.), *A Modern History of New London County* (1922), I, 317 f.; Byrne, *op. cit.*, II, 414.

[30] Baltimore archives quoted *Researches* 27 (1910) 271. See, J. G. Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll* (1888), 443, Guilday, *Carroll*, 735, and R. J. Purcell, "Colonel John Fitzgerald, A Catholic Revolutionary Soldier and Patriot," *Thought*, December, 1933.

[31] Guilday, *op. cit.*, 426; *Records*, 18 (1907), 179.

[32] Printed (Boston, 1798) two editions of which the proceeds were assigned by Thayer to the fund for Cheverus's new church, Byrne, *op. cit.*, I, 28.

[33] J. J. Dillon, *The Historic Church of St. Mary's, Albany, N.Y.* (1933), 75.

[34] Ben J. Webb, *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (1884), 169, 173; V. F. O'Daniel, *The Father of the Church in Kentucky* (1926), 57, 285.

[35] Webb, *op. cit.*, 174; Kenney, *op. cit.*, 191; Byrne, *op. cit.*, I, 21. See, *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, VIII, 151 citing the *Orthodox Journal*, February, 1815, R. H. Clarke, "A Noted Pioneer Convert of New England" *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 29 (Jan., 1904) 162 f., which made use of several pages on Thayer in Rohrbacher's *Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique*, Vol. 28. See second of three articles on "Education and Irish Teachers in Massachusetts" by R. J. Purcell in *Catholic Educational Review*, Feb., 1936.

[36] Kenney, *op. cit.*, 190.

INDIA IN THE WAR AND AFTER

BY FREDERICK C. KING

Late Commissioner, Central Excises and Salt, Northern India

ASIA is once again on the march. The rude voice of militarism proclaiming a New Order has roused those sleeping giants amongst nations, China and India, and they are about to take their place in the caravan of peoples as it forges ahead. What will be their rank in the procession of the nations? Will they be led captive by Japan or will they succeed in asserting their claim to the place and influence due to their past traditions, to their present culture, to the greatness of their populations and the vastness of their resources?

The position of India, in particular, in the present crisis of world history is of absorbing interest and importance. Standing, as she does, in many respects half way between Europe and Asia, akin to Europe but truly Asiatic, her role in the future should be of vital moment to the world. Unlike the Chinese and the Japanese, her people are of Aryan blood and are thus descended from the same stock as ourselves. In feature and in form they are Europeans painted brown. Their history too has for centuries linked them with Europe in a close and constant contact. Alexander the Great went there before Christ and left behind him traces of Greek culture which have influenced Indian civilization to this day. St. Thomas, the Apostle, is also reported to have gone there and there still remain, in the Madras Presidency, Catholics who are believed to trace back their faith to the mission of St. Thomas. During the Dark Ages contacts with Europe were few; but the discovery of the sea route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498 opened up traffic again under the aegis of Portugal, and amongst the earliest visitors came St. Francis Xavier, who founded a flourishing mission in the south before passing on to China and Japan. Christianity is not numerically one of the great religions of India, though it stands third in point of numbers, but its influence is strong out of all proportion to its numbers. As an illustration of this may be quoted the great influence Christian doctrine has exercised on Mr. Gandhi's peculiar philosophy.

Not less potent, however, than the introduction of Christianity have been the contacts with Europe established by the successive invaders of India. First came the Mohammedans, who were able to transmit to India certain aspects of the arts and the culture of Europe. Then came the European invaders themselves. First in order came the Portuguese, who landed in India in 1500 and settled in various trading stations round the coast. Then came the Dutch, the British and the French close on each other's heels, setting up forts and stations at important trading centres along the sea-board. After numerous hard-fought battles with

the French, the British by the time of Clive and Hastings had succeeded in establishing themselves as the predominant European power in Asia.

The influence of Great Britain on India has been supreme in the political field, and it is to English tutelage that we can trace back the growth of Indian nationality and many of the ideologies associated with it. The British were the first rulers to completely unify India. They were the first to establish the reign of law in place of the reign of war and rapine throughout the land. This was England's best and greatest gift to India, law and order and even-handed justice. Indian political education advanced under the influence of this reign of law. Democratic institutions were studied in the light of the unwonted peace they had given to the country. In theory, Indians became confirmed democrats, however unsuited democracy might be in practice to the national temperament. A sense of national unity was fostered by the unified system of government which the British had introduced. An English education became the key to employment in the administration, and this helped to spread the language and, with the language, educated Indians imbibed English ideas, especially political ideas of a democratic tinge. Politics and democratic ideas have, indeed, become a passion with young India. It is in the light of this passion that the present negotiations for a political settlement in India must be read.

The assimilative period of India's contact with the West was the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and first half of the nineteenth century. It was during that period that India was growing up towards national maturity. It is worth noting that, during this period of her western education, India was in touch with a Europe which was much less materialistic than the Europe of to-day. With Japan it was quite otherwise. It is true that Japan had certain contacts with the West in the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth century through Christian missionaries, chief of whom was St. Francis Xavier, and through Dutch and Portuguese traders. By 1614, however, Christianity had been suppressed in Japan, and she had cut herself off completely from relations with the West until 1853. When in 1853 she resumed relations with the West it was a materialistic Europe, whose outlook had been changed by the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, with which she came in contact.

It was not through any love of Europe that Japan entered into relations with the European powers. Her entry into the European Community of nations was a humiliation forced upon her, not a free move on Japan's part. She accepted the gifts which European science and European civilisation bestowed on her in no spirit of friendliness, but intending to turn them against all comers in the struggle for world power which she then began to plan. Japan's policy was guided by a spirit even more material and militaristic than any she came in contact with in Europe. It was at first necessary for her to dissemble her true intentions ; but, all through, her unrelenting ambition was to build up a strong Japan. She

succeeded with great efficiency in this task; and, as a nation which was fighting for her own hand, she was always prepared when opportunity offered to back up force by ruthlessness. It is a notable fact that, in the eleven centuries previous to her resumption of relations with Europe in 1853, Japan had fought only one war, whereas in the ninety years which have elapsed since then she has entered on six wars in addition to minor military expeditions—namely, the Formosa War in 1874, the China War in 1894, the War with Russia 1904–5, the Great War 1914–18, the Chinese War 1937 onwards, and now the World War. This is one illustration of how thoroughly Japan has imbibed western materialism.

In pursuit of an aggressive policy for the establishment of her New Order in Asia, Japan has already come into conflict with China and is on the verge of a collision with India. There can be no doubt that India will not voluntarily subscribe to a New Order in Asia under Japanese hegemony. It is unfortunate that the coming of the crisis has not found India with a National Government of her own which could have ranged her with Great Britain, the United States of America and the other allies in the defence of her territory. Fierce political differences have, however, stood in the way of such a consummation. The recent mission of Sir Stafford Cripps was an endeavour to find a solution whereby the strength and spirit of India could be ranged in defence of the allied cause. The difficulties which defeated that mission arose chiefly from dissension and conflict of interest between the Indians themselves. Mr. Gandhi in his weekly newspaper *Harijan* (April 1942) writes as follows of the breakdown of the negotiations :—

"But it is of no use brooding over the past of British mistakes. It is more profitable to look within. The British will take care of themselves if we take care of ourselves. Our mistakes or rather defects are many. Why blame the British for our own limitations? The attainment of independence is an impossibility until we have solved the communal tangle. We may not blind ourselves to a naked fact. How to tackle the problem is another question; we will never tackle it so long as either or both parties think independence will or can come without any solution of the tangle. There are two ways of solving what has almost become insoluble. One is the royal way of non-violence; the other of violence.

All interested in freedom have to make the choice. I suppose the choice has already been made by the chief actors. But the rank and file do not know their own minds. It is necessary for them, if they can, to think independently and take non-violent action in terms of unity. It consists in Hindus and Muslims on the wayside fraternising with one another if they believe joint life is a perfect possibility, nay a necessity. Whether those who believe in the two-nation theory and the communal partition of India can live as friends I do not know. If the vast majority of Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation, having nothing in common with the Hindus and others, no power on earth can compel them to think otherwise. And if they want partition of India on that basis, they must have partition unless the Hindus want to fight against such a division. So far as I can see, such preparation is silently going on on behalf of both parties. That way lies suicide; each party will probably want British or foreign aid. In that case good-bye to independence. I dare not contemplate the actuality. I should not like to be its living witness."

Most Indian leaders realise that if they are to secure their independence, they must sink or adjust their differences without delay ; but the difficulties of such a course have up to now been too great for the statesmanship or non-violence of the Indian parties. Events are, nevertheless, shaping themselves towards a solution and, though Sir Stafford Cripps's mission did not attain the results hoped for, the movement towards the independence of India goes on and may yet come to fruition under the stress of the Japanese menace. It would be interesting to speculate on the part an independent India could play in the war, in the peace and in the years succeeding. But before venturing upon any forecast, it will be helpful to recall some facts and notions regarding this great country and people.

If we consider the physical features of the country, we find an enormous area of 1,575,000 square miles stretching down from the south of Asia into the Indian Ocean. It is a land with every variety of climate from the perpetual snow of its lofty mountain ranges to the equatorial heat of vast tracts of its surface. Its vegetation is as varied as its climate, ranging from the firs and hollies of the cold north to the rice and spices of the warm south. The rainfall varies from the 498 inches of Cherrapungi to the rainless desert of Sind. Great rivers such as the Ganges, the Indus and the Brahmaputra flow through the land, while the highest mountains in the world guard its frontiers. Dense forests cover whole areas. During the monsoon, which lasts from June to October, vast areas of the country are under water.

The people of India are no less remarkable than India itself. The population reaches the colossal figure of 375,000,000. Eighty-nine per cent. of the population live in rural areas and only eleven per cent. live in cities. The density of the population is 177 to the square mile ; but two-thirds of the people live in one quarter of the area, so that there are large tracts almost devoid of population. Out of every 2,000 people in India there is only one European. The number of British officials in the country is extremely small—only 573 in the Indian Civil Service. Sixty-six per cent. of the people of India are agriculturists ; ten per cent. are engaged in industrial employment. Eighty-four per cent. of the population were recorded as illiterate in the 1931 census.

The Indian peasant, who may be taken as a good representative of the bulk of the population, is hardy and industrious, simple and contented, gay and generous in good fortune, brave, uncomplaining and resourceful in bad days. He is remarkably loyal to those who have gained his confidence and affection, and one of the surest means of attaining this is justice tempered with kindness. Whether Hindu or Mohammedan, he is a fatalist. This is the outcome of his religion and of his reaction to misfortune. Though caste-ridden, he is completely innocent of class consciousness. The rich and important members of a caste will mix on terms of perfect equality with their poor and destitute caste fellows ; but they may not, if members of a low caste, approach the meanest of

the higher castes. Their touch, even their shadow, would contaminate. The joint family system which prevails amongst the Hindus is a very remarkable social organization. A wealthy man may have to support several hundred poorer agnates, even though of distant degree, in his house. In these circumstances, all the arts of nepotism are used to provide jobs for poor relations so as to augment the family income and to relieve the financial strain on the head of the family. A remarkable characteristic of all Indians is the way in which they prize their "izzat" (honour). They cannot bear anything which savours of contempt or degradation and would sacrifice everything rather than lose their "izzat." Being superstitious and, for the most part, illiterate, their fanaticism is easily worked up, and a fanatical Indian crowd is a real danger. There are 225 different languages spoken in India. The physique of Indians differs as greatly as the languages they speak, varying from the small emaciated figures of the poorer regions, such as Orissa and parts of Madras, to the stalwart Sikhs and Mohammedans of the Punjab, who would grace by their stature any Metropolitan Police in the world.

The greatest division between the peoples of India is not race nor language but religion, and the main cleavage is that between Hindu and Mohammedan. There are about 250,000,000 Hindus in the country and roughly 90,000,000 Mohammedans. Next come the Christians with a bare six or seven millions and the Sikhs with slightly less. The Christians have no feud with any other sect; but the Hindu-Mohammedan conflict and the Mohammedan-Sikh quarrels must be taken into consideration in any political survey of the country. In the villages of India Hindus and Mohammedans live side by side in perfect harmony through the greater part of the year, helping each other in their cultivation and in other neighbourly duties, till suddenly there comes a day when a Hindu marriage procession passes by a Mosque playing music which disturbs the Moslem worshippers within, or till, on the feast of the Baqr-Id, the Mohammedans decide to sacrifice a cow, or till news comes from some neighbouring city of a Hindu-Moslem riot. Then religious fanaticism and bigotry replace the peace which had hitherto prevailed. Hindus and Mohammedans leave their homes and congregate together for defence or attack. Soon the countryside is in a flame, riots break out, and widespread stabbings and murders may occur. Sometimes troops have to be called in and various restrictions imposed, till gradually the excitement subsides and the communities go back to their ordinary life. Hindu-Mohammedan tension has been accentuated by the imminence of the grant of self-government, with each party or community striving for the maximum share of political power obtainable under the new regime. It is a problem which the British administration in India has done nothing to foster, though many people see in these dissensions nothing but a clever application of the motto "Divide et impera." Far from this being the truth, the avoidance of such outbreaks is one of the chief duties

and preoccupations of British administrators in charge of districts where incidents are liable to occur, and their administrative ability is apt to be judged to a considerable extent by their success or failure in this task. All the arts of diplomacy are employed to prevent outbreaks, and only as a last resort is police or military force called in to circumscribe and put down fanaticism.

It is this problem of Hindu-Mohammedan antagonism and rivalry which is, and has for long been, the chief obstacle to a system of full self-government in India. It is a problem not of British creation, but arising in part from political rivalry and past history and in part from religious bigotry and fanatical ignorance. The Moslems were the first conquerors of India and held sway for centuries prior to the coming of the British. They form the most martial race in the land and are unwilling to accept the position of a minority in a self-governing India. Mr. Jinnah put the Mohammedan case forcibly when he said : " The Mohammedans are a nation, not a minority." They are prepared to fight, and with every chance of success, for this claim. The Hindus, on the other hand, are permeated with liberal ideas of democracy and cannot conceive a free India in which the predominant factor in government would not be the opinion of the great majority of the people. They maintain, and probably wish to believe, that political parties need not follow religious lines, and they point with pride to the fact that Congress, which is by far the largest political party in the country, contains a Mohammedan element and has a Mohammedan as its President. This does not convince the Mohammedans, who believe—nay know, so far as they are concerned—that the political division will follow religious lines.

Acute though the religious differences between Hindu and Mohammedan may be, they are not such as would rule out the possibility of mutual toleration if political differences were not there to exacerbate them. The real crux is not so much the difference of religion. It is the problem arising from the past history of the Mohammedans as a conquering people and from their present record as a martial race. They fear that they will be reduced to the position of an impotent minority, if they accept any form of democratic government on an all India basis ; and that is not a pleasant prospect for the most martial race in India.

The existence of a number of independent Sovereign States, very tenacious of their position and privileges and fortified by solemn treaty obligations with the British Crown, is another important contributory cause to the disunity of India. These States are willing to federate only on their own conditions, which include the retention of an inconveniently large share of their separate sovereignty and a disinclination to transform their States into constitutional monarchies. If a federation should come about, the more autocratic of the States would form a heterogeneous element, and their undemocratic forms of government would constitute a dangerous irritant in a constitution founded on a democratic basis.

Such an irritant would be very likely to cause upheaval, and students of Indian history, with its story of Rajput, Maharatta, Sikh and Pindari warfare, can be pardoned for conjuring up visions of a country rent asunder by civil strife. Indian nationality and Indian unity, such as they are, are in truth products of British rule and are liable to dissolve once British influence is withdrawn.

The British are now prepared, and have been ever since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, to hand over India to the Indians; but as British influence is the bond which holds so many discordant elements together, a crisis threatening to bring about the collapse of the structure of Indian nationality arises each time an attempt is made to transfer power to Indians. It may be that the introduction of a new force, Japanese aggression, will weld into unity the fissiparous elements which are now held together by the cement of British influence, and that Indian nationality, which up to now has been more an aspiration than a fact, will become real and vital. This was the hope of Sir Stafford Cripps. If this hope should fail, the future of India will be bleak indeed.

I am not qualified to pronounce on the strategic and military aspect of India's part in the war; but it is known that the Indian army, which is highly trained and most efficient, has now around one million men in arms, as against 250,000 before the war. Over 60,000 recruits are pouring in each month. The army is well equipped, and behind it stands the formidable industrial organization of India, which supplies the greater part of the army's requirements. India's steel production, for instance, has reached 1,250,000 tons this year and is capable of even greater expansion. The textile and leather industries are capable of supplying all the army's needs, the magnitude of which can be gauged from the fact that, by September 1941, garments at the rate of seven million a month were being supplied for the use of the army. Details are not available as to the extent to which India is self-supporting in munition supplies, but it is known that a very considerable development has taken place in this direction. Had it been possible to spare the machines and the technical personnel from the British home factories, the output could have been considerably increased. That Indians have the skill and the the aptitude to produce munitions there can be no doubt. I have myself visited a "munitions factory," in independent tribal territory on the north-west frontier, where serviceable home-made rifles are turned out by the score with the aid of equipment which a self-respecting country blacksmith in this country would blush to possess.

This is the merest outline of India's military strength in present conditions. There can be no doubt that a transfer of power without a substantial measure of consent would plunge the country into chaos; but if an agreement could be reached between the Congress and the Muslim League, the war potential of India would be greatly increased. Possibly there would be no rapid expansion in the regular army as the

existing Government has the full co-operation of the military castes—the Mohammedans (who furnish a good half of India's fighting forces), the Gurkhas, Rajputs, Jats, the Maharattas, etc.; but behind the regular force there can be built up, if time allows, a vast army of irregulars and guerilla fighters which could draw on the finest material in the world for such warfare. The Indian peasant is one of the hardiest types of manhood in the world. I have seen Indian coolies do fifteen and twenty mile marches before breakfast, carrying heavy loads and arriving at their destination as fresh as when they set out. Their meal then consisted of a glass of water and a handful of rice. Their only covering was a light cotton cloth. They could go on for days and weeks under such conditions without showing any signs of fatigue or even discontent. Surely men of this type, naturally brave as they are, would prove, if organized, a veritable thorn in the side of any invading army and a very valuable adjunct to a regular Indian army in the field. Fighting in their own country, they would be aided by the rivers, the mountains, the forests, the deserts, and by a climate which, over a great portion of the country, rules out mechanised warfare during the four or five months when monsoon conditions prevail. If a people like this and in a country like this could be resolutely united against an invader, they would be unconquerable and irresistible.

I fear, however, that I should be unduly optimistic were I to give the impression that the Indians are likely to be firmly united in the manner I describe. There are, short of a miracle, too many lines of cleavage for a firm union even of a temporary nature, and it is questionable if even the imminence of a Japanese invasion would provide the miracle. We have Hindu *versus* Mohammedan, Despotic Native States *versus* democratic Congress India, caste Hindu *versus* Untouchable, Sikh *versus* Mohammedan, etc. etc. With such cleavages the danger of a fifth column is obvious; and already Subhas Bose, Hindu extremist and former President of the Congress, has gone over to the Japanese, though what following he could command in the event of an invasion only time will tell. The probability is that the vast majority of the population would not actively participate on either side, though the defending army, being mainly Indian, would have the sympathy of the populace and would be readily accorded any assistance possible short of active participation.

So much for the past and present. What does the future hold? It is tempting to speculate; but space and prudence dictate that, having set forth the facts, I should allow each reader to draw his own conclusions and make his own prophecies.

F. C. KING

HENRI BERGSON*
1859—1940

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WHEN Henri Bergson lay dying, in the winter of 1940, he must often have been tempted to think that he had lived in vain. In the evening of his life, the France that he loved so passionately lay prostrate again under the heel of the same enemy which had darkened its morning. Throughout his long life, all his thought and writing had been an eloquent protest against the forces of automatism and hate, and a passionate plea that the good life consisted in liberty and love. At the end of his life, if the future was bleak for all Frenchmen, it was still bleaker for those Frenchmen who, like himself, were of Jewish extraction. But he died, as he had lived, indomitable. One of his last acts was to reject, with unconcealed contempt, a so-called " favour " by which the Vichy Government sought to exempt him from the degrading obligations to which, under Nazi pressure, all French Jews are now subjected. It was a noble gesture, a fitting close to a noble and distinguished life.

Let me begin this survey of his life by a few biographical details. Henri Louis Bergson was born in Paris in 1859. His family was Jewish, of Irish origin.[1] His early studies, at the Lycée Condorcet, were distinguished by brilliance in three separate fields : classics, mathematics, and the natural sciences. Passing at the age of nineteen to the Ecole Normale Supérieure, he hesitated at first between the faculties of science and letters ; finally opting for classics, he graduated as licencié-ès-lettres in 1881. Two years later he was nominated professor of philosophy at the Lycée Blaise Pascal in Clermont-Ferrand.

Bergson's first book was an introduction to the poetry and philosophy of Lucretius—a work of such merit that it holds its own to this day in French classical schools. In the quiet beauty of Clermont-Ferrand, where lush verdure weds the austere grandeur of the Massif Central, in a countryside rich with memories of the thought of Pascal and the music of Rameau, Bergson laid the foundations of his system, and busied himself with amassing that vast and varied erudition in which all his writings abound—in the fields of art, medicine, biology, hypnotism, and of history, religious and secular. In 1889 he took his doctorat-ès-lettres in the Sorbonne, and was ultimately appointed to the Collège de France, first

* Substance of a lecture given in the Great Hall, Queen's University, Belfast, 11 February 1942.

[1] My authority for this is Monsignor Olgiati, " La Filosofia di Enrico Bergson " (p. 305), but he gives no references nor details.

as professor of Greek philosophy and then as professor of modern philosophy, a post which he held from 1900 to 1921 and which he distinguished by a constant output of great works (which shall engage our attention in a moment) and by a series of lectures which, by their appeal and influence, are reminiscent of the great days of Plato.

The academic life is usually uneventful in the vulgar sense, and Bergson's was no exception. He travelled little—a few lecture-tours in England and the United States. He was elected member of the French Academy in 1914. During the last war, he was entrusted with important missions in Spain and in America, and carried them out with admirable tact and complete success. After the war, he was appointed first president of the League of Nations Committee for Intellectual Co-operation. But, for the rest, his life was spent mostly in his study or in the lecture-hall.

William James has somewhere remarked that philosophy is an arduous process of screwing things down, usually accompanied by uncomfortable feelings in the hypogastrium. At any rate, philosophical lectures, as a rule, are not exactly light entertainment. But Bergson's lectures achieved an extraordinary popularity. He had not been teaching long before his fame spread far beyond his small circle of students and attracted the cultured public. The beginning of one of his courses at the Collège de France was more like a Holywood première than in the usual frigid academic tradition. Dozens of luxurious motor-cars drew up outside. Servants in livery kept places for their mistresses, the élite of Parisian society. At the entrance of the master, there was a ripple of excitement, as if at the raising of a theatre-curtain ; and the huge audience sank into silence to listen to the voice of him whom they called " l'alouette," the " sky-lark," because he reminded them of a bird pouring forth thrilling music as it soars with steady eyes against the sun. (Such popularity is not without its embarrassment : there is a story told of a professor of old Chinese who used to lecture to three devoted students and who once, when his lecture was timed for the hour before Bergson's, was difficult to pacify when he found the hall invaded by a tumultuous mob which could not restrain its impatience as it waited for its metaphysical entertainment).

One might be pardoned for suspecting that such popularity in a philosophical lecturer must have been bought at the expense of profundity or of intellectual honesty. Not so with Bergson : throughout his life he enjoyed the deep respect and often the enthusiastic admiration of philosophers of every school. Windelband, Benedetto Croce, Arthur Balfour and others hailed him as the most significant French thinker since Descartes. Neo-Scholastics, such as his friends Père de Tonquedec, S.J., and Père Sertillanges, O.P., recognised in him the most original European thinker since Kant. William James, when he read " Evolution Créatrice " for the first time, broke into this dithyramb : " O my Bergson, you are a magician . . . I feel at bottom that you and I are fighting the same battle, you a commander and I in the ranks." And he adds, with a confidence that

looks absurdly premature now, " I thank Heaven I have witnessed the Russo-Japanese war and seen Bergson's new book appear—the two great modern turning-points in history and thought." A few days later, he wrote to Dr. Schiller of Oxford: " Have you read Bergson's new book? It seems to me that nothing is important in comparison with that divine apparition."[1]

What are the main lines of thought which commanded this rare combination of popular enthusiasm and academic esteem? To try to outline his thought in a few brief paragraphs is to attempt what Bergson would have been the first to describe as impossible. I shall do no more than try to explain the directive ideas of his most important books, adding the warning that to crystallise them into theses was, for Bergson, to freeze the life out of them.

Bergson's philosophy is essentially a philosophy of duration. His point of departure is a criticism of the idea of time underlying physics and mechanics. He is convinced that this idea is a mathematical abstraction; and in seeking for the concrete reality beneath the abstraction, he evolved his theory of real duration, of " la durée toute pure." If, he says in " Les Données Immédiates de la Conscience," I turn my consciousness in upon myself, I find first, like a solid crust on the surface, the perceptions that come to me from the material world. Next I discover memories adhering to these perceptions and interpreting them. Finally I discover tendencies, motor-habits, a multitude of actions more or less closely attached to my perceptions and memories. All these elements appear to me at first to be as distinct from me as they are from one another. Orientated from the within towards the without, they form the surface of my consciousness—the superficies, as it were, of a sphere which tends to expand and to lose itself in the external world.

But we must not remain on this surface, whereon our ideas float like dead leaves in a pond. We must penetrate into the secret intimacy of our being, where the hidden sources of consciousness gush forth. There alone may we probe personality in its original freshness, in its living rhythm, in its uninterrupted flow across time.

What do I find there? I find that I change incessantly. Nor is this change a question, as we so often assume, of passing from one stable state to another stable state. For no state is really stable. Indeed there is no difference between passing from one state to another and persisting in the same state: each is unending change, continuous transition. The trouble is that we tend to accept without question the common view that our psychological life is discontinuous, divisible into parts like spatial extension. We imagine it as a staircase, whereas it is rather a gentle incline. My real duration therefore is not at all like the time of the physicist, a kind of extended thing divisible into discrete parts: it is the constant progress of the past biting into the future, growing and fusing

[1] *Letters*, Vol. II, pp. 290–294.

together as it advances, just like the notes of a melody. It is succession without distinction, mutual interpenetration, pure heterogeneity. Our intellect tends to analyse it into parts, just as we may analyse a painting into small pieces and may even reconstruct it with multicoloured particles, as in a mosaic. But, like the painting, my internal life is not at all a composition of parts; it is something simple and one in its qualitative heterogeneity. When, therefore, we seek to give a precise meaning to the word "exist," we find that, for a conscious being, to exist is to change, to change is to grow, to grow is to enter upon a creative process that is never-ending.

Bergson's next problem is whether we must say the same thing of existence or life in general. He is convinced that we must; but, before establishing that, he turns to do battle with the enemies of real duration. He finds them in psycho-physics—the science which attempts to apply quantitative measurements to psychical life—and in the corresponding philosophy of psycho-physical parallelism. To his criticism of this science and this philosophy he devotes many a masterly page; but the exigencies of space due to shortage of paper make it impossible to examine here his penetrating analyses of determinism, the problem of memory, and the dualism of matter and spirit.

It is in "Evolution Créatrice," the most famous of his works, that Bergson approaches the study of life. Life, he says, participates in all the attributes we have discovered in consciousness—pure duration, incessant change, creative evolution from the embryo to the adult organism. Nor is this to be limited to individual organisms. No: it embraces the entire course of biological evolution. We must look upon life in general as a vast current which flows from one seed to another by means of developing organisms, as an urge which, flowing through generation after generation, subdivides itself between the various individuals and species, losing nothing of its force, rather becoming intensified in its ascending path, always evolving in an uninterrupted creation of new forms, manifesting its power in unpredictable and irreversible directions. In a word, the stream of life, in the flux of its heterogeneous duration, is exactly on a par with the stream of consciousness.

Here again Bergson pauses to do battle with his sworn enemy, mechanism, and shows in how many difficulties it is enmeshed in its attempt to reduce life to physico-chemical forces alone. But the opposite doctrines, finalism and vitalism, also call—at least in their traditional form—for some of his strictures. He thinks that the vitalists make the mistake of concentrating on single organisms. His own view is that the true nature of life can be grasped only if we consider it as embracing the entire stream of life taken as a whole. We shall never understand it properly if we consider it (as mechanism does) as a machine governed by inexorable laws or (as classical finalism does) as the realisation of an already fixed plan. In the last resort, we can grasp it, not by analysing it at all,

but only by reliving it, by accompanying it on its course through an effort of vital intuition.

Bergson goes on to describe how, in its creative course, life subdivides into divergent directions, bringing forth and dissociating the varying tendencies that sleep in it as in a fertile seed. This movement of evolution would be simple enough to follow, if life described a single trajectory, like a cannon-ball fired from a cannon. But it behaves rather like an explosive shell, of which every fragment is explosive too—or, if we may borrow an image from recent experience, like one of those aircraft flares which in their descent suddenly burst into a candelabrum of brilliant lights.

Nor is all this to be understood as a flight of fancy ; for Bergson insists that there is ample evidence that it is so. Thus, there is no property of vegetative life that is not also found in animal life ; there is no intelligence without instinct and no instinct without its fringe of intelligence. Does not this suggest that his concept is justified in experience and that the capital error of philosophy, from Aristotle on, was to consider the three forms of life as successive stages, instead of three divergent directions of one and the same " élan " ?

At this point, Bergson introduces one of the most surprising theses of his system—his explanation of matter. He approaches the question by considering the order of the world. It is a two-fold order : one the order of astronomy and geometry, which can be mathematically foreseen and sketched ; the other the order of life, where novelty and unpredictability reign. But while the usual attitude of the scientist is to accept the geometrical as fundamental and the vital order as somehow or other secondary and consequential, Bergson boldly reverses this approach and insists that the living must be the explanation of the inert. For what happens, he asks us, when our consciousness loses its grip ? We fall into an absolute passivity, into a series of inert moments : we become like lumps of matter. Similarly, the extension of matter is nothing but the distension of life—not, of course, of that diminished life which functions in each of us, but of some part of the " élan vital." Just as from the fissures of a boiler little jets escape here and there and condense into drops that fall to the ground, so from the immense reservoir of life jets escape and each of them, falling, crystallises into matter. Matter then is reality unmaking itself : is not this borne out by physical science itself in the second law of thermodynamics, the principle of Carnot, which shows the degradation of energy ? On the other hand, life is reality making itself. Matter is nothing but the interruption of the process, a loss ; and even in matter, the rise of living things shows that something persists of the original impulse.

This hasty sketch of the main ideas of " Evolution Créatrice " immediately raises a number of philosophical queries. Is there room for a God in this scheme, and if so, what is His nature ? Does consciousness survive death in any sense ? Is there a moral order ? Bergson thinks that all

three must be affirmed. Against the many criticisms that "Evolution Créatice" evoked, he maintains stoutly that he is neither a pantheist nor a monist, classifications which, it must be admitted, suggest themselves naturally from a study of the book. But in a famous letter to Père de Tonquedec, in 1912, Bergson wrote: "The considerations set out in "Les Données Immédiates de la Conscience" emphasised the fact of liberty. Those in "Matière et Mémoire" point to the reality of spirit. Those of "Evolution Créatice" present creation as a fact. From all this arises the idea of a free and creating God, generator both of matter and of life . . . But to make these conclusions more definite would require a study of moral problems. I am not sure if I shall ever publish anything on the subject. I shall only do so if I can arrive at results as demonstrable as those of my other works."[1]

For over quarter of a century Bergson was silent, and his readers despaired of his ever completing his synthesis. But in 1932 the long awaited results of his meditations appeared in "Les Deux Sources de la Morale et de la Religion." It is his philosophic testament.

True to his principles of life and thought, it was unpredictable and highly original. It marks an enormous progress on his earlier work; yet it is, at the same time, a development of his "idées directives." We have already seen that his main anxiety has always been to solve the antinomy between the static and the dynamic, and that he seeks their reconciliation by an intuition of all life and all being as creative evolution. The same conflict dominates his last book as it did his first, but it is fought out now on another plane—the plane of morality and religion.

Let me attempt to summarise Bergson's conclusions. Morality, he holds, has two sources. One, of purely social and biological origin, gives us a static morality. It arises out of the social collectivity, and aims at giving individuals a protective organisation in which they can survive. It is akin to the herd instinct. Collectivity presses on us; it constrains us, and gives rise to a number of habits which curtail our liberty. It is a closed, impersonal, automatic morality, acting on us like a cosmic law.

But that is only on the surface. In the profundity of the ego there is another source of morality—the appeal of the moral hero, of the saint, of the mystic, who, himself in touch with the creative "élan," reaches out to a transcendent ideal and spreads the flame of his ardour around him, warming lesser men with its glow and attracting them also towards the central radiance. This morality is free, open, dynamic: its characteristic is unceasing and ascending progress.

And where is the synthesis to be found? It was in his answer to this question that Bergson astounded many readers. Only, he says, in Christianity. Why? The answer may be read in history. Before Christianity, Stoicism had proclaimed the noble doctrine that all men

[1] *Etudes*, 1912, t. I, p. 515.

were brothers and that the sage was a citizen of the world. But these formulae found no reflection in practice. No Stoic, not even the Stoic who was an emperor, could lower the barrier between freeman and slave, between Roman citizen and barbarian. Only Christianity brought this idea of universal fraternity, of equality of rights, of the inviolability of the person, into practical realisation. The process was slow indeed, stretching over centuries, but it shows an ever-increasing success. And it achieved its success not through force or constraint—nothing hampers Christianity more—but by the attraction of supreme examples of love and devotion gradually triumphing over the hearts of men.

In religion, too, there are the same two poles, static and dynamic, closed and open, social and personal. Static religion, which Bergson seems to equate with natural religion, is, he thinks, infra-intellectual. It too corresponds to biological necessities and is essentially a defence-mechanism against the dangers of life. Against the dangers of egoism, which would break up the cohesion of the group, it raises its *taboos* and sets up gods who will act as the protectors of the city or the tribe. Against the stagnation which the thought of death would evoke, it sets up the image of the after-life and thus keeps life in its full freshness and flow.

But side by side with it, there is a higher, a dynamic religion. This is supra-intellectual; it is a leap beyond nature, a penetration into the innermost recesses of existence. It is not closed; it breaks the circle and opens our transfigured souls to the love of humanity and the experience of God. It is at its purest form in the religion of Jesus Christ. Those who achieve it, those who are in contact with the "élan vital" at its primary source, are the mystics, those spiritual heroes whose entire life is devoted to spreading amongst men the blessings of their own rare experience, and who try to lead all men in the way of unselfishness and love. We may trace the movement through Oriental and Greek mysticism; but it reaches perfection in the Christian mystics.

There follows a long description of the nature of God based on the testimony of the great Christian mystics. The secret of that nature is love, and love manifests itself in creation, which is an enterprise of God to join to Himself creatures worthy of His love. On this note Bergson closes his study, and with "Les Deux Sources" we reach the end of the long and difficult road of his speculation.

I shall not attempt to conclude by any detailed criticism: that would lengthen an exposé that is already far too long. Some general considerations, however, I may hazard.

Jacques Chevalier[1] tells how one of his teachers, after the appearance of "Evolution Créatrice," described it as a "beautiful poem, but nothing more." Others, classing Bergson under the rubric that a metaphysician is a musician who has mistaken his calling, compare him to Debussy,

[1] *Bergson*, p. 192.

whose music introduces us to a fluid world of pure qualities and a thousand *nuances* and suggestions. There is a good deal of truth in the parallel, but at the same time that dismissal is too facile. On the other hand, I cannot share the enthusiasm of Chevalier who hails Bergson as one of the greatest of modern Christian thinkers. Still less do I discern in him the " divine apparition " vouchsafed to William James. Frankly, to anyone trained in the rigorous scholastic tradition, Bergson's most famous works, " Evolution Créatrice " and " Les Deux Sources," are unconvincing in their arguments, however sublime they be in conception and brilliant in presentation. His views on the relations between God and the " élan vital " and his theory of the origin of matter are more like poetic or musical conceptions than philosophical. In " Les Deux Sources " he seems completely to misconceive the nature of obligation. In his static morality there is nothing but compulsion, and in his dynamic there is nothing but attraction ; and it is difficult to see how a moral order can be built on either. Similarly with religion : any trained theologian will immediately seize on a number of unsurmountable objections. It is all very well for Bergson to say that the God of philosophy is so far removed from the God that worshippers adore, that if he came upon earth, no one would recognise him. ("Les Deux Sources," p. 258). Pascal had said before him that men long, not for the God of philosophy, but for the God of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob. St. Thomas, in a famous sermon to University in Paris, called the sermon of the *Vetula*, said that after the revelation of Christ any old woman (vetula) knew more about God than Plato or Aristotle ever guessed. It is certainly true that no one will pray to the abstractions of metaphysics, and that religion would have meant little to men if we had been asked to worship the Absolute, the source of the " élan vital," or the logical background of existence.

But if we abandon all hope of a rational demonstration of God's existence, our belief in revelation will be undermined ; we will lose our grip on fact and flounder in fancy.

Nevertheless, in spite of these and other manifest weaknesses, it is hardly rash to prophesy that Bergson's thought will have a lasting and salutary influence. When he began his studies, the French intellect was at its least inspiring moment. France was not only beaten in the field ; she seemed to have sacrificed her independence of mind also. English positivism and German rationalism were the orthodoxies of French university life. The English indeed, in the customary English fashion, had never been whole-hearted in the belief that reality could be resolved into a whirl of atomic particles ; but the French, in their more systematic and logical way, went the whole hog. The only remnant of metaphysics left in France was that feeble imitation of German monism of which Taine and Renan were the prophets. Bergson felt ill at ease in either atmosphere ; and his first aim was to harmonise, if possible, the two tendencies—to evolve what he called a " positive metaphysic."

He never succeeded, but his effort was fruitful. Had he died after "Evolution Créatrice," it is possible that the good he accomplished against materialism would have been counterbalanced by his strengthening of that irrational vitalism which has overrun central Europe.

But after "Les Deux Sources" we may confidently sum up his life's work by saying that Bergson restored to philosophical respectability, in a hostile atmosphere, three important things:—(1) against determinism, the fact of liberty; (2) against materialism, the reality of the spirit; and (3) against pantheism and monism, the creative force and, however vaguely, the transcendence of God. Philosophers indeed will be no more unanimous in accepting these views after Bergson than they were before him; but he has at least made it certain that it will be a very long time before they will be held in the undisputed contempt that was fashionable when he was young.

On neo-scholasticism too his influence has been considerable. Rousselot, Sertillanges, Maréchal, Maritain—none of these would have written as they did but for Bergson.

If then it be the mark of a great thinker to criticise the defects of his own age, to cure them by something original and salutary, and to open up new vistas for the thought of the future, Bergson may justly be hailed a great thinker. To an atmosphere of mechanism, he restored the importance of life and spontaneity, and demonstrated the uniqueness of consciousness. In an age of determinism and disillusion, he made it possible for men confidently to believe again in freedom and in the high ideals of the spiritual and religious life.

Bergson had the anguish of seeing, at the end of his life, those ideals trampled underfoot in most countries of Europe, including his own. While the shadows were lengthening, he could hear Prussian jack-boots clanging on the Boulevards; and he knew that German soldiers mounted guard over the tomb of the Unknown Soldier under the *Arc de Triomphe*. I have told, in my introductory remarks, how courageously he refused the offer of exemption from the anti-Jewish laws. The nobility of that gesture is enhanced when we remember that we have it, on the authority of Raissa Maritain, that he was received into the Church some months before he died; but through delicacy of feeling for the persecuted Jews whom he might thus seem to have abandoned in their distress, he did not wish to disclose the fact while he lived. It was so characteristic of him. He died without seeing the deliverance, and I do not know where he is buried. But, be it soon or late, in Europe or elsewhere, the ideals of liberty and love of which he was such an eloquent apostle must triumph, if civilisation is to continue; and when that day dawns, it would not be inappropriate, especially since he joined their faith, if the bones of Henri Bergson should be laid to rest beside those of René Descartes in St. Germain-des-Prés or beside those of Blaise Pascal in St. Etienne-du-Mont; for Bergson is assuredly, since their day, one of the most genial gifts of France to "divine philosophy."

ARTHUR H. RYAN

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LXII

POEM ON THE RELEASE OF TOMAS

Congratulation to Tómás on his release from captivity in 1339. Though the Annals, in relating the story of his capture in 1338 by the Clann Muircheartaigh and Muinntear Eolais, make no reference to Clann Tighearnáin of Teallach Dúnchadha (to which family Maoilmheadha, Tomas' mother belonged), it is on them that the blame is cast in this poem (stt. 7, 12 &c.). He is extolled owing to his descent—through Mór, his paternal grandmother—from the Clann Ruairc, whose genealogy is traced back in detail (stt. 40–47) on the authority of Mac Fir Bisigh, an early member of the famous family of chroniclers. It agrees with that given by Dubhaltach, who however has the following variations : in st. 42*c* only one Tighearnán ; in st. 43 Ualgharg replaces Domhnall ; Aodh, Art, Seanfhearghal replace two Fearghals ; in st. 44 Féilim is inserted (but with a query) between Bláthmhach and Criomhthann.

AODH Ó FLAITHEAN cc.

1. Do fóir Dia dobrón ó mBruin,
a-tá ar gcuidiú cliar n-aimsir ;
ní foill fo glas fé an fliúgrin
gor fóir Mac Dé an dobróinrin.

2. Rob ionann dobrón dóib rin
cliara Banba agus Breifne :
gor fgaoil toil Dé dá ndeacraib
nírb é fein a faoiseadtain.

3. Do faoisfead cliara cláir Breag
fa feall d'fóbra ar fear Mairgean
nach biad im clár brionn bfódla
dám ón fiall gan furfógra.

4. Mar fein do faoiseadh uile
ag fluag Breifne braonuige,
cat ná léigfeach nar lamadh
fad Breifneach do beagadadh.

5. An dá throingrin leat ar leat
dáma cáid 'r an cat Breifneach
rob é a luadh fgaoileadh gan fgur
fduag Taoideán [muna] tíoradh.

6. Ní leiġ ſoro—ir oiṙḋeiṙc ro—
uaḋa a ṁuintir a-muġo
ṙríoċ caḃoiṙ Dé ṙa ndeacraiḃ
do ṙalaiġ ré a raoileaċtain.

7. Táimiġ mac Briain brionnar craḋ
ó ṙionġuil ṁaicne a ṁáṫar ;
ar taiṫleaċ ġé tí an ġarraiḋ
biḋ aiṫreaċ í ar ṙionġalrain.

8. Ġér uċraċ ón ṙionġuil ṁóir
mac Briain Cliaċ naċ creiḋ leaḃróir,
teaċt do ġéiġ Taoiḋean dá taiġ
níṙ léiġ ṙġaoileaḋ daṙ ṙġolaiḃ.

9. An céaḋlá ro ṙeallraḋ air
rlóġ máṫar meic ṁeic Donnċaiḋ
nór do rduaiġ inḃir an ṙeall
do-ċuaiḋ ar imliḃ Éireann.

10. Ciḋ naċ rinreaḋ ré ar ġaċ leaċ
nór ṁeic Briain go mbarr ndruimneaċ,
ní bí cliar an tann naċ toir
aċt aġ triall go barr mBeannċoir.

11. Cura an mac Briainre an bairr ṫruim,
a Méiġ Samraḋán ṙúlċuirr ;
naċ lór d'ṙóġra an doṁain dúinn
t'óbra tre ṙoluiḋ n-iomċnúiḋ.

12. Tnúċ riot, a Tómár, tuġ roin
ṙeall ort doḋ briáṫrub bunoiḋ ;
tuiġ, a rí Cál agur Cuilt,
do bí i ndán duid a díoġuilt.

13. Sloinnriḋ mé dod ṁalaiġ duinn
bliaġ rġeoil do rġriobaḋ roṁainn ;
rġéal léaġtar mar ar dual dúnn
do-ġéabtar uam man iomċnúḋ.

14. Tiġ iomċnúḋ mór re Mac Con
aġ Oilill Ólum uaral ;
go roiḋinġ cáċ ceann i gceann
ba gnáṫ Oilill gá imdeall.

15. Ṙeallair maicne a ṁáṫar ṙéin
ar Mac Con ba cliar aiġbéil
—an rduaġ barrlaġ níṙ báiḋ rin—
tre ṙarmaḋ áiġ ir einiġ.

16. Mac Con mar do cinneadh dó
ba heagal leo a tocht tarrtha ;
cúig na Muimneach fa feall air
ceann Luigdeach ar an luchtrain.

17. Iomchúdh fear nEirneann uile
do bhoi re barr Almhuine
fliuch Áine gan uabhar mbreath
re huamhan láimhe Luigdheach.

18. Éamair Oilill—anba an feall—
Mac Con cornumhaidh Éireann
go ndearna roin riobhal neirt
fa bhloigh don lobhar oirrdheirc.

19. Tig aonta ag Oilill na n-each
re hArt d'ionnarba Luigdheach ;
gor fgaoil fé an fiochdhobhal fill
do dhíochradar é a nEirinn.

20. Éire d'Oilill ir d'Art fial
fágbair Mac Con mac Maicniadh,
nír gluair géag Thaoidean ó tig
act aoinfear déag go deimhin.

21. Re n-áireamh ní anfa rinn
toirrseachta Luigdheach luaidhim ;
nó go dtáinig fear lí a le
don fead do bí ní beimne.

22. Gluairir roimhe fliuch Fódla
a-noir d'aithle a urfógra ;
do cleit Lacha Tí nír theirc
deich gcatha fo thrí ag toigeacht.

23. Aoinfear déag—nír buidean beag—
ir deich ndeagcatha ficead
ní tainig fliogh Lagdhach luinn
gan a lór cabhlach cugainn.

24. Nuadhu go hOilill 'r go hArt
[Lug] Mac Con chíche Connacht
do roinn Fódla na ngart nglan
fa fógra d'Art nirb iongnadh.

25. Mac Con ba cuid d'Fódla finn
éamair Art agus Oilill ;
mó riamh a rath do Lugaidh
thrall fa cath do-chualabair.

26. Tarrla bár Eogain ir Airt
le Mac Con fa cat urrdairc
gor corain gart Éibir finn
bar éirig d'Art 'r d'Oilill.

27. An dream nacar dioltaig dib
Mac Con na gcomrag n-ainmin
flait gaoil don aicme nir an
nó gor fgaoil maicne a mátar.

28. Mar rin do-géana, a gruad dog,
dul fon lucht ro feall orod ;
gac a bfuil dib fa feall ort
at-cim nac geall reo guarocht.

29. Ag rin fgéal beag dod bair gil,
a Méig Samradán fuilbir,
a géag barrlag Banba, ir beacht
tre farmad tarla a toigeacht.

30. Formad riot fo-deara dáib
feall ortra, a féinnid Gabrain ;
a flat Cé gan cor d'fagail
Mac Con rob é t'ionnamail.

31. Neimhongnad tnúth, a tuir Breag,
do beit riot—riogda t'fuinneamh—
ar dioth fluaig, a cleath Comuir,
ar buaid gcreac ar comlonnaib.

32. Ar iomguin mbeodha, a badb Dor,
ar cagad ar borrd mbiodbod
ar loinneart gcruaid i ngac cat,
ar toirrseacht fluaig go readhrac.

33. Ar méad do marcfluaig meanmnaig,
ar cródacht, ar ceitearnaib
—do gnaoi ir fada fuar mar roin—
ar cruar do chrota i dtocraib.

34. Ar iomad do gealga ngéar
d'iomad do coig 'r do coiléar,
a flat nacar diommoi dream,
ar iomad nglac ir gaithleann.

35. Ar uairle do teaglaig thréin,
d'iomad mac ríog gor roiréir,
ar meanmnaige ir ar méad fguir,
'r ar greadnaige, a géag Gabruid.

36. Ar ruagaib leabra i lo creac,
ar cornum na mbord mBreifneac,
an léim go dian i ndeabaid,
ar péir gcliar gac cineadaig.

37. Ní luga ba déanta dáib
tnúd ned péide, a rí Gabráin ;
ir tú ar péide ag riar na rgol
ó Sliab Béirre go Beannchar.

38. Mait an cúir formaid oile
riot, a meic Briain Boroime ;
toillfid [ra ndúainre], a dreac dog,
neac fat uairle ní ágbod.

39. Seancar t'atar oirrdeirc rin
do floinn Mac Fir binn Birig ;
a barr Cé ro mór mire,
nac lór é dá inmire.

40. Sloinnfid mire diaid i ndiaid
t'uairle ó Móir, a meic faoirBhrain,
do togaib rinn dealba duid,
a cinn Teamra ar a dteagmuid.

41. Naoi ríoga fiched fuair fiad
umud, a Tómár Teamraig,
móide ar dagladid do dúar cruid
ruar ó Amladib go nEochaid.

42. Amladib ir Art, Domnall Dean,
Feargal ir Domnall déidgeal,
dá Tigearnán mad daob rim,
a chaob cineadnár Cuilinn.

43. Domnall, Niall congalach car,
dá Feargal, ruairc a reancar,
Art Breag ir Ruarc druim ar druim,
dá fear dá ruacht gart gealCuinn.

44. Tigearnán trédn an catfáil,
Seallacan caom, [Cearnacán],
Dub-dotra ir Dúncad na gcat,
Baitín ir Blathmac buadac,
cúl na bfionnclad mbarrglan mbog,
ir Cruimtan Almán umod.

45. Sgannlán umuo, a foltc cas,
Aoo fionn, fearsna agus fearsur,
diar fuineadac ba sars sal,
Muineadac ard ir eosan.

46. Duac Salac ir Brian Banba
umuo, a fir fionnSabra,
ceann rlóg ror reacain mearóil,
ir eacaid mór Muigmeadón.

47. Ag rin do geinealac Sruinn
don leitrin, a laoic, tuirmim,
ir am tnúid reancar mar rin,
a barr gealcar múir Miodr.

48. Sid bé do beat re fasáil,
a Méig fúlguirm Samradáin,
iomda cúir gan damnad dúinn
do'd gnúir bud adbar iomtnúid.

49. Do toillir tnúd ban mBanba
rnot, a féinnid eaclaidra,
ar barr ndroldlámac ndleactac
ngoblánac brann brinnleadtac.

50. Ar béal ndearg ir ar déad mbán,
a meic Briain bréagar bandál,
ruairc táinig, a fir Eanaig,
'r ar bráigid ngil ngéireamail.

51. Ar glaic mbarrduinn, ar barr gcar,
ar taod réimide rolar,
a í Duac nac cranota creac,
ir ar calpa luat léidmeac.

52. Ag ro, a Méig Samradáin Sáig,
doladg uchair ar éadáil
cúir laoide gairdgleic do ga,
a daigmeic Maoile Meada. Do foir.

53. Meinic fóire d'aigid gil,
a ingean mall Méig Uidir,
a Nualaid go gcéid cladaig
ar céim n-uabair t'ollamain.

54. Uraide amlad laoide
duid, a ingean Eadaoine,
do gnúir mar gréin ndeirg ndealbda
do téig n-a leirg loinneamda. Do foir.

55. Is tú, a Airdeirt fóiseas dáim,
mo chroidh m'ionnsuighe is m'éadáil,
is tú an óg a-tú do tagha,
is tú m'ór is m'airgeadha. Do fóis.

Translation

1. God has healed the sorrow of the scions of Briön and has succoured the distraught poets; hardly had sorrow seized them when God's Son cured it.

2. Banbha's poets and Bréifne's heroes suffered the same misery; they had no hope that God's kindness would release them from their troubles till He did so.

3. After the treachery committed on Maisde's Hero the poets of the Plain of Breagha expected that on all Fódla's fair surface no poet-band would escape banishment.

4. The host of moist Bréifne fully expected the decline of their fortune, and so no fight or goodly raid was ventured on (by them).

5. These two sets of folk, all poets and Bréifne's host, both alike expected utter ruin, were Taoidhe's Prince not to come back to them.

6. Jesus—this is glorious of Him—lets not His folk be lost; God's help was forthcoming for their troubles; He belied their forebodings.

7. Brian's son, ever generous with wealth, escaped the unnatural design of his mother's folk; though that folk make restitution (against their will), the crime shall be rued.

8. The son of Brian of Cliu, Hero of Taoidhe, whose like no writer ever thought possible, was sore afflicted by the terrible treachery, but his home-coming has saved our poets from ruin.

9. When the folk of the mother of the son of Donnchadh's son proved false to him, their treachery turned into a glory for the Pillar of Inbhear, a glory spreading to every border of Éire.

10. Even had not the news of Brian's wavy-haired son not spread everywhere, there is no poet-band which would not make for Beannchor's Prince when it got no news of him.

11. Thou art the thick-haired son of Brian, O round-eyed Mág Shamhradháin; is not that attack on thee in envious hatred enough to make one forswear the world?

12. 'Twas envy of thee, O Tómás, that made thy own kinsfolk false to thee; be sure, O Prince of Cál and of Colt, 'twas ordained for thee to avenge it.

13. I will tell thy dark brow a piece of a story written of old, a story which we (poets) have to read; thou shalt hear it; it is about envy.

14. Noble Oilill Ólum grew envious of Mac Con; he kept nursing his envy till in the end Mac Con crushed him and all his folk.

15. His mother's folk betrayed Mac Con—dreadful sin!—envying his fortune and his noble spirit; yet this did not destroy that soft-haired hero.

16. The Muimhnigh feared lest Mac Con might rule over them—as he was fated to do; (fear of) his power over them caused their treachery to him.

17. In terror of his arm all Éire's folk were jealous of Lughaidh, Almha's Prince, Áine's Chief, never arrogant in judgment.

18. To Mac Con, Éire's Champion, Oilill refused—what injustice!—a piece of the famous Yew; hence the mighty hosting.

19. Horse-loving Oilill conspires with Art to exile Lughaidh, and they drove him from Éire—till he (on his return) scattered those fierce treacherous folk.

20. Driven by Oilill and noble Art, Mac Con son of Maicniadh, the Prince of Taoidhe, left Éire, going thence with only—'tis certain—eleven companions.

21. I shall not delay to tell the enterprises of this Lughaidh of whom I speak; I shall not speak of the time that Hero of Lí spent before returning hither.

22. Fódla's Prince set forth (for Éire) from the East after his banishment: thirty battalions coming with him were a goodly force for the Pillar of Loch Tí.

23. Eleven men and thirty good battalions were no weak force ; eager Lughaidh's host came not to us without sufficiency of ships.

24. It was not strange that Mac Con of Connachta's Land, after being banished by Art, should come again against Oilill and Art to get his share of bright-fielded Fódla.

25. Art and Oilill had refused to give any part of Éire to Mac Con ; the greater was the success of Lughaidh's enterprise in the fight (at Magh Mucromha) ye know of.

26. Eoghan and Art both fell at Mac Con's hand in the great battle, and Lughaidh then by the death of Art and Oilill took over the Field of fair Éibhear.

27. Of the race of (Sadhbh) mother of fierce-fighting Mac Con not a single prince remained but he banished them—those he had not slain.

28. Thus, O soft-cheeked prince, shalt thou attack the folk that wronged thee ; all thy wrong-doers, I know, can not frighten thee.

29. Such, O white hand, O bright-spoken Mág Samhradháin, O soft-haired Branch of Banbha, is my short story to thee ; what befell us was, 'tis certain, the result of envy,

30. Envy caused them to turn on thee, O Captain of Gabhrán ; and, O Prince of Cé, in that thou wert not overthrown Mac Con was like to thee too.

31. No wonder thou wert envied, O Prince of Breagha, O Pillar of Comar, so king-like was thy strength in destroying hosts, in successful raids and combats.

32. In quick attack, O Raven of Dor, in fighting on foes' border, in eager battle-vigour, in energetic leading of troops.

33. In the strength of thy dashing cavalry, in gallantry, in good skirmishing bands, in stout fighting during every conflict—thus was thy glory exalted.

34. In the numbers of thy sharp lances and swords and steel corslets and grappling-hooks (?) and spears, O prince whom no man ever dispraised.

35. In the nobility of thy strong court, in the number of princes obeying thee, in ambition, in huge studs of horses, in high spirits, O Prince of Gabhradh.

36. In long forced marches when on foray, in defending the borders of the Bréifnigh, in fierce rushing to fight, in care for poets of every native prince.

37. Also, O Lord of Gabhrán, thou are to be envied for thy generosity, as thou art the most lavish in supporting poets from Sliabh Béirre to Beannchor.

38. There is another reason too, O son of Brian Bóroimhe, why folk envy thee ; they (thy ancestors) will find place in this poem (?) ; they (i.e. the list of them) leave none of them out.

39. Sweet-voiced Mac Fir Bisigh has told the genealogy—a splendid one !—of thy father ; is it not enough for me to repeat it, thou Prince of Cé who hast ever exalted me ?

40. I will now give in detail thy noble lineage on the side of Mór (thy grandmother), O son of noble Brian ; she of whom I now speak, O Chief of Teamhair has given thee thy fresh beauty.

41. O Tómás of Teamhair, fortune crowned twenty-nine kings in thy ancestry up from Amhlaoibh to Eochaidh ; thy gift of kine makes me the more eager to sing this song.

42. Amhlaoibh and Art and Domhnall Dean, Fearghal and white-toothed Domhnall and two Tighearnáns are in thy line, O graceful body, O noble-born Branch of Cuileann.

43. Domhnall, contentious curly-haired Niall, two Fearghals of noble lineage, Art of the Breagha and Ruarc, two heroes to whom was given fair Conn's Field.

44. Tighearnán—stout that battle-fence !—Seallachán the gentle, Cearnachán, Dubh-dhothra, battling Dúnchadh, Baithín, victorious Bláthmhach with his soft bright furrowed locks, and Criomhthan of Almha are all in thy pedigree.

45. And Scannlán is thy forbear too, O curly hair, and Aodh Fionn and Fearghna and Fearghus and that Western pair so rough in valour, great Muircadhach and Eoghan.

46. In thy line too, O Hero of fair Gabhair, are Duach Galach and Brian of Banbha and great Eochaidh Muighmheadhón, captain who never drank to foolish extent.

47. Such, O hero, is thy exact genealogy on that side which I tell of ; well might one envy such an ancestor-roll, O bright curly-haired Prince of Midhir's Castle.

O

48. Many are the unchallengeable reasons we have—whatever others might be found—for the envy felt for thy face, O blue-eyed Mág Shamhradháin.

49. Thou hast awakened the envy of Banbha's ladies, O Hero of Eachlabhra, owing to thy hair a mass of hook-shaped flakes (?), symmetrical, wide-spreading, wavy, fair-layered.

50. And also owing to thy red lips and white teeth and swan-white chest, O son of Brian, O Prince of Eanach, who dost charm the ladies coming so blithely to thee.

51. Owing to thy brown-fingered hand, thy curly hair, thy smooth gleaming body, thy swift active leg, O scion of Duach of the vigorous raids.

52. O Mág Shamhradháin of Ságh, goodly son of Maoilmheadha, 'tis hard when wounds are inflicted on prosperity; the occasion of this poem is thy vigorous fighting with spear (once more).

53. O stately daughter of Mág Uidhir, O wavy-haired Nualaidh, often with (a glance of) thy bright face thou savest thy poet from arrogant treatment.

54. 'Tis easy to adorn a lay to thee, O daughter of Éadaoin, thy face like the red-shaped sun glows with bright surface.

55. O Athracht help of poets, thou art my store, my wealth, my property, thou art the virgin I choose above all, thou art my gold and my gifts.

NOTES

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1*a*. ᚩᚐ ᚑᚏ ; ᚑᚌᚋᚃᚏ. *b* cu. cl. 2*d*. ᚏᚑᚌ ᚐᚌᚂᚄᚉᚐᚌ 3*a*. ᚃᚏ. *c* ᚠ.ᚠ. 4*d*. ᚃᚏᚓᚌᚐᚄ 5*b*. ᚏᚐ ᚄᚐᚄ *d* ᚌᚌ 6*a*. ᚑᚌᚩ. ᚏᚓᚑ *b*. ᚐᚌᚢᚩᚑ 7*b* ᚌᚐᚓᚌᚓ *d*. ᚌᚷᚐᚂᚏᚌ 8*b*. ᚢᚌᚐᚌ, *leg*. ᚢᚏ? 9*b*. *leg*. ᚋᚐᚄᚐᚏ ? ; ᚩᚑᚌᚌ. 10*b*. ᚃᚏ. ; ᚌᚑᚏ. 11*a* -ᚏᚓᚐ *c* ᚩᚑᚷᚏᚐ 12*d*. ᚢᚌ ᚌᚐᚌ 13*a*. ᚩᚢᚌᚌᚌ 14*a*. ᚑᚌ ; ᚌᚌ ᚌᚐᚄ 15*a*. -ᚂᚂᚐᚏ *c*. ᚐ ᚏᚑ. 16*c*. ᚓᚐᚂᚂ 17*a*. ᚌᚌ *b*. *leg*. n-ᚐᚂ. ? *d*. ᚌᚌ 18*b*. -ᚐᚌᚷ *d*. ᚃᚂᚑ. 19*a*. ᚓᚌᚄᚐ *b*. ᚌᚌ *c*. -ᚠᚑᚃᚢᚂ 20*b*. -ᚃᚐᚏ ; ᚌ (*curve above*) ᚋᚐᚌᚄ. 21*b*. ᚄᚢᚌᚌᚄᚓᚐᚄᚄᚐ *d* ᚃᚓᚐᚌᚌᚓ 22*d*. -ᚩᚓᚐᚄᚄ 23*b*. ᚌᚩᚓᚐᚄᚐ *c*. ᚂᚢᚷᚩᚓᚐᚄ *d*. ᚄᚢᚑᚂᚓᚐᚄ 24*b*. ᚂᚐᚢᚩ ; *leg* ᚄᚌᚋᚓ ? 25*d*. ᚐᚄᚄ 26*b*. ᚐᚄᚄ *c*. ᚓᚌᚋᚌ *d*. ᚃᚐᚌ ᚓᚌᚋᚓ 28*c*. ᚠᚑᚌᚂ ; ᚓᚐᚂᚂ *d*. ᚌᚌᚩ 29*a*. ᚐᚌᚷ *d* ᚄᚑᚑᚩᚓᚄᚄ (ᚷ *over* ᚩ) 31*a*. ᚃᚌ. *b* ᚄᚑᚌᚩᚓᚐᚋ *c* ᚩᚑᚄᚄ *d*. ᚃᚢ. ᚄᚌ. 32*a*. ᚩᚑᚌ *b*. ᚄᚐ. *c*. ᚄᚌ. *d*. ᚄᚑᚂ. 33*a*. ᚌᚓᚩᚐ ᚋᚐ. *b*. ᚄᚋᚑ. ; ᚄᚓᚂ. *d*. ᚄᚋᚂ. ; ᚩᚑᚄᚋᚑᚃᚩ 34*c*. ᚩᚋᚑᚂ *d*. ᚷᚂᚐᚄ 35*c*. me ᚏᚐᚌ me. *d*. ᚏᚐᚌ ᚷᚐᚩ. (e *over* ᚷ) 36*a*. ᚐᚌᚢᚐ. *d*. ᚐᚌᚓᚌ ; cl. 37*b*. ᚌᚢᚩ ; ᚌᚢ *d*. *leg*. ᚢᚓᚂ. ? 38*b*. ᚃᚌᚂ. ᚃᚑᚌ. *b*. ᚄᚑᚂᚂᚏᚢ ᚐᚌᚩᚢᚐᚄᚏᚌᚓ 39*a*. ᚑᚌᚩᚑᚌᚄ 41*b*. ᚄᚓᚐ. *d*. -ᚂᚐᚄᚋ 42*a*. -ᚂᚐᚄᚋ *c*. ᚋᚐ ᚄᚐᚓᚢ *d*. ᚢᚌᚂ. 44*a*. ᚄᚐᚄᚐᚂ *b*. ᚄᚓᚌᚏᚐᚄ *c*. *cf*. *Metr*. *Dinds*. IV 226 46*c*. ᚌᚑ ᚏᚓᚐᚄᚐᚌᚌ 47*a*. ᚐᚌᚷ ; ᚷᚓᚐᚌᚐᚢᚂᚐᚄ *d*. *leg*. ᚋᚢᚌᚌ ᚋᚂ. ? 48*a*. ᚏᚐᚷ., *leg*. ᚢᚏᚐᚷ. ? *d*. ᚩᚢᚩ 49*a*. ᚢᚐᚌ *b*. ᚠᚓᚌᚂᚢ *c*. ᚩᚑᚢᚃᚂᚐᚌᚄᚐᚄ ᚩᚂ. *d*. ᚠ. ᚏᚌᚩᚂᚓᚏᚄᚐᚄ ; *leg*. ᚐ ᚢᚐᚏᚏ ᚩᚏ. ᚩᚂ. ᚷᚩᚢᚂ. ᚠ.ᚠ. ? 50*a*. ᚃᚓᚂ ; ᚓᚩᚩ *d*. ᚏᚐᚌ ᚓᚐᚂ. 51*a*. ᚷᚂ. ; ᚃᚐᚏᚏ ᚄᚐᚏ *b* ᚄᚓᚢ *d*. ᚏᚐᚌ ᚓᚐᚂ. 52*a* ᚐᚌᚷ ᚏᚓᚑ ; ᚋᚓᚷ *b*. ᚩᚑᚂᚐᚌᚢ *d*. ᚩᚐᚌ. ᚋᚐᚂᚂ 53*a*. ᚓᚐᚌᚷᚌᚢ ᚑᚷᚂ *b*. ᚋᚐᚂᚂ ᚋᚓᚷ *c*. ce. cla. 54*d*. ᚂᚓᚑᚷ ᚂᚑᚌᚢᚐ 55*c*. ᚩᚑ *abest*.

ECONOMIC VISIONS AND REVISIONS

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

THE condition of the world in the spring of 1942 is hardly favourable for the discussion of the problems of peace. Nevertheless it is necessary that thought should be devoted to these problems before they press for urgent solution. If the errors of the last peace are to be avoided, the lessons of that peace must be learned. The nations that have fought the present war on the strategical theories of the last war have paid a heavy price for their mistake. Similarly, the nations that approach the peace settlement with the ideas that were accepted after the last war will pay a grievous penalty for their folly. The forward-looking nations will always enjoy an advantage over the backward-looking. In the interval between the two wars revolutionary changes have taken place in the military, political and economic fields. Liberal democracy has been rejected by many great nations, the system of maintaining the international *status quo* by means of the League of Nations has been challenged and defied, and many of the old economic maxims have been questioned. If these changes be not fully accepted by the statesmen responsible for the post-war settlement, no stable peace will be attained. Such, shortly, is the argument of Professor Carr's stimulating and thought-provoking book, *Conditions of Peace*.[1]

Three principles—liberal democracy, national self-determination and *laissez-faire* economics—were widely, if not universally, accepted in the early years of the present century. These principles are everywhere challenged today and need to be reinterpreted if they are to survive. What Professor Carr says about democracy and self-determination is of the greatest interest; but shortage of space prevents even a brief summary. In respect of the need of revising the principle of *laissez-faire* economics Professor Carr writes :—

> The contemporary world is engaged in revising the system of the classical economists in three essential points. In the first place, it has abandoned the hypothesis of the pursuit of individual interests as the motive force of the economic system. Secondly, it is in process of discarding the quantitative conception of 'wealth' as the end of economic activity in favour of the qualitative conception of 'welfare.' Thirdly, and as a result of the abandonment of maximum wealth as the test of what is economically desirable, contemporary thought is feeling its way towards a new conception of the relationship between production and consumption. Modern economic problems revolve round these issues of Individualism and Collectivism, Wealth and Welfare, Production and Consumption.

The classical assumption that business is conducted by a host of competitive entrepreneurs has largely ceased to fit the facts of the twentieth

[1] Macmillan. 1942. 12s. 6d.

century. The growth of large scale businesses and of trade unions has led to bargaining between groups rather than between isolated individuals. Monopoly and imperfect competition have increased. Mobility has been reduced and rigidities have developed at many points in the economic system. In view of these developments, Governments have not been able to adopt purely passive policies. State regulation and operation of industries have become widespread. The existence of such developments cannot be denied, but the revision of economic theory which they necessitate is not so great as Professor Carr suggests.

In regard to the second revision, it is alleged that the classical economists, assuming that maximum production maximizes the welfare of society, favoured the pursuit of profit as the motive best calculated to increase production to the utmost. The experience of the war proved that production could be directed by motives of public need rather than of private profit, and the post-war generation demanded many services that could not be justified by the profit test applicable to private business. Wealth and private property tended to be held in less regard. Profits tended to be stabilized or to be replaced by fixed rates of return on capital, redistribution of wealth came to be accepted as normal, the principle of minimum wages found widespread approval and unemployment became regarded as an intolerable evil. While these developments in economic practice were taking place, economic theory " limped behind, bewildered and protesting ".

In regard to the third revision, it is alleged that the classical economists regarded the interests of producers rather than those of consumers. With the growth of monopolies and large scale enterprises, Governments came to protect producers by tariffs and other means. Consumers have been exploited by capitalists and by organized labour. Business men and trade unions have many interests in common. They act in unison as often as in conflict. Both have met with the same fate in the totalitarian States. The growing rigidity of production together with the growing capriciousness of demand have led to the problem of overproduction, to solve which Governments have attempted to bolster up inefficient and outworn businesses and have indulged in a mad race to keep up exports at almost any price. National and international politics have been dominated by producers' interests.

Proceeding from his diagnosis of the economic crisis to proposals for remedies, Professor Carr declares himself a believer in a planned economic system. Attempts to cure problems of overproduction by means either of subsidies or restriction of output are shown to be unsound, and schemes of crude consumers' credits are condemned on the ground that they ignore the need for saving. The lessons of the Russian and German experiments should not be rejected because of lack of sympathy with the ideologies or the methods of either country. The planned consumption of armaments can be matched in peacetime by the planned

consumption of goods and services. " The first essential is to draw up an infinitely expansible plan of consumption, with graded priorities, which will assure that our productive resources are occupied to their fullest capacity for its fulfilment." The programme of planned consumption must be independent of profit and pricing incentives. " The second essential of economic reconstruction is the substitution of welfare for wealth as our governing purpose, and the consequent abandonment of considerations of price and profit as the determining factor of production." Nations willingly make sacrifices by working and saving in wartime, because they consider the end in view worth while. Is there no peaceful aim capable of arousing the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of war? This raises questions of ultimate valuations which are ethical rather than economic. " The economic crisis is essentially a moral crisis. . . . The moral crisis of the contemporary world is the breakdown of the system of ethics which lay at the root of liberal democracy, of national self-determination and of *laissez-faire* economics."

This system of ethics rested on the assumption of the harmony of interest between men and between nations. The utilitarian principle, that virtue is identical with the pursuit of enlightened self-interest, found widespread acceptance. In the political and economic spheres men unconsciously and automatically helped each other by helping themselves. Nations, similarly, served the interests of each other. Such a system was mechanical and needed no conscious plan. Consequently it needed no agreement about ends, and hence no commonly accepted morality. The termination of the period of nineteenth century expansion, of which the war and the great depression were symptoms, undermined belief in the harmony of interests. Every country became aware of the need for planning, but the democracies had no generally agreed ends to which planning should be directed. The void was filled elsewhere by dictatorships and, later, by the war. The post-war world will need a new moral purpose. Professor Carr outlines " some estimate of the conditions that must be fulfilled by any movement or creed likely to make a widespread appeal to the contemporary world and to provide the sense of a common purpose essential to the survival of civilization." This is the weakest part of the book. The claims of Christianity to provide the moral foundations of the new social order are dismissed contemptuously in a single paragraph. The defects of the book in this regard have been admirably exposed in *The Tablet* (21 March 1942), to which Catholic readers should refer. If Professor Carr is right in diagnosing the economic evils of the world as essentially moral, his economic proposals are based on shaky foundations if his scheme of moral reconstruction is unsound. Apart from this general consideration, which must be constantly borne in mind, the economic analysis and programme are open to criticism on purely economic grounds.

The need for revising economic laws in the light of changing circum-

stances is generally admitted. Economic laws are simply statements about the probable behaviour of men, and men's behaviour is constantly changing. Every change that takes place in the institutional environment, in the technique of production, and in the relative valuations that people put on different things will induce changes in behaviour. Many of the assumptions of the classical economists are no longer valid, and many of their conclusions are therefore no longer true. In an age of intense nationalism, military security is preferred to material welfare; defence is regarded as more important than opulence. In an age of great slumps and depressions, stability is preferred to an uneven rate of progress. In an age of unemployment, insecurity is regarded as a greater evil than poverty. The development of large scale undertakings in private and public control, of trade unions and of social services has introduced rigidities in the economic system. The experiments in the totalitarian states have provided much instructive material for investigation by economists. Professor Carr is undeniably right in insisting on the need for the revision of economic laws in the light of changing circumstances. He quotes with approval the statement that " Dr. Schacht's true greatness resides in his realization of the fact that in economics few doctrines are right at all times." The actual revisions which he suggests will not, however, meet with unqualified acceptance. Each of his three suggested revisions is open to criticism.

" The contemporary world has abandoned the hypothesis of the pursuit of individual interests as the motive force of the economic system." This, the first of the three suggested revisions, is untrue in peacetime in the countries where capitalism survives, and even in the totalitarian economics it is only partly true. All the planned economic systems have had to devise incentives to replace the incentives of individualism. Correlations between effort and reward have had to be found in Russia, where considerable inequality of distribution is tolerated for the sake of speeding up production. " Even under socialism," according to Stalin, " wages must be paid according to labour performed and not according to need." In Germany and Italy the profit motive has been weakened but not destroyed. In the capitalist countries large undertakings, with more or less monopolist powers, have tended to supplant the old traditional competitive entrepreneur, and public authorities have undertaken a growing part in economic life. It does not follow, on that account, that the pursuit of individual interest has ceased to be the motive force of the system. The differences between large and small undertakings are differences of degree rather than of kind. The principle of maximizing private self-interest can be studied in relation to groups as well as to single individuals. The development of the economic analysis of conditions of imperfect competition reflects the current changes in industrial practice. The existence of rigidities and impediments on mobility can be introduced into the theory of value without the essentials of the theory being under-

mined. Moreover a very large number of small entrepreneurs continue to flourish side by side with the larger industrial and commercial firms. The bulk of farming, retailing, and the provision of professional and personal services is still carried on by competing individuals. The widening area of public operation within a system which remains mainly individualist is compatible with the maintenance of profit as the motive force of the system. The public sector has to pay for the factors of production at prices determined in the private sector. There is all the difference in the world between an island of socialism surrounded by an ocean of capitalism and a continent of socialism. Even a very extended degree of public regulation and of public operation of production is compatible with the maintenance of the motive power of individualism. The institution of traffic control does not amount to the nationalization of transport. Professor Carr's first suggested revision of classical economic theory is open to the criticism that it exaggerates the degree to which economic institutions have changed and underestimates the adaptability of the classical theory to a changing environment.

The second suggested revision is stated to be necessary because the world " is in process of discarding the quantitative conception of ' wealth ' as the end of economic activity in favour of the qualitative conception of ' welfare '." The modern world has admittedly revised its relative valuations of wealth and power, of progress, security and stability. But the question needs to be asked whether, in doing so, it has not committed a serious error to which it is the duty of economists to call attention. The spectacle of unsaleable surpluses of a few commodities has given rise to the statement that the age of scarcity is past. To argue from the overproduction of some things to overproduction in general is illogical. Professor Carr, for example, says : " From the period of scarcity economics we have now emerged. Rightly or wrongly, it is now commonly believed that civilized man has mastered the problem of scarcity and can produce, without undue strain on his capacity, all that he needs or wants to consume." In another place, he says : " In the twentieth century civilized mankind is no longer predominantly conscious of the evil of scarcity. It is now widely believed that, at any rate in the most advanced countries, there is plenty for all and that the principal evil is not the insufficiency but the maldistribution of wealth." Statements to this effect are grossly in conflict with every available statistical study either of standards of living or of the potential capacity of the world's economic system. The mass of mankind is still miserably poor, and would continue poor even if all the existing factors of production were employed continuously to full capacity. While these conditions prevail, raising the standard of living should remain the pre-eminent and outstanding aim of economic policy. Many policies at the present day lower rather than raise the standard of living. Policies aimed at war and preparation for war, at keeping men in employment, however unproductive, for its own sake,

at stabilizing the conditions of particular groups of producers or at redistributing wealth may all be justified; but, compared with policies that aim at abundant production, they must always rank as only second best, if not as necessary evils. Until the world is much richer than it is, the improvement of the standard of living should remain the principal end of economic policy. Such an improvement depends upon increased production. Without increased production increased consumption will not be possible. One would have thought this statement a truism. Why then does Professor Carr, speaking as the champion of the consumer, complain that "the classical economic system was first and foremost a system of production"?

The third suggested revision calls for a change of emphasis by economists between production and consumption. Heretofore, it is alleged, economic science has been unduly preoccupied with problems of production; henceforth it should concern itself primarily with problems of consumption. But, surely, economists have always regarded the interests of consumers as paramount. Their cautious attitude towards protection has been grounded on a desire to save the masses from being exploited by sheltered and privileged producers. Their suspicion of all monetary policy tainted however slightly with inflation has been inspired by the desire to maintain the purchasing power of consumers' incomes. It has been said that the criterion by which a trained economist can be recognized is his possession of the "consumer mentality." Indeed, economists have erred by laying undue emphasis on the interests of consumers. There have been occasions on which the maintenance of free trade and deflationary monetary policies have been defended by economists whose regard for consumers blinded them to other aspects of the situation. It is because they have been so anxious to safeguard the interest of consumers that economists have defended capitalistic methods of production and have been sceptical regarding the benefits of planning.

The essence of production based on the profit motive is that producers who ignore the wishes of consumers perish in the competitive struggle. It is true that organized producers' interests have succeeded in restricting output and in limiting the freedom of consumers' choice. It is equally true that consumers' wishes have been influenced by advertisements which have built up an artificial demand for worthless goods. Moreover, inequality of distribution misdirects demand, so that the luxuries of the rich are provided while the necessaries of the poor are lacking. A great deal of demand is ignorant and even vicious. Many socially desirable goods are neglected and many socially undesirable products are demanded. These are, however, blemishes on the system rather than inherent defects. Monopolies can be regulated by law, advertizing can be controlled, a more equal distribution can be secured, and consumers can be educated and, if necessary, coerced into demanding what is socially desirable and into avoiding what is socially undesirable. The individualist economic

system, in its essence, enthrones the consumer as sovereign. The system may be objectionable for many reasons; but, from the point of view of emphasising the consumer's interest, it is superior to any possible alternative. It is certainly superior to Professor Carr's "planned consumption."

The relative merits of individualist and planned economic systems cannot be discussed in a review of this length. All that is relevant to the present discussion is that, whatever the other advantages of planning may be, it weakens the position of consumers. Nothing can be consumed that has not been produced, and what is produced in a planned economy is decided, not by the wishes of consumers, but by the planning authority, whoever that may be. Planned production involves planned consumption. It is not necessary to argue whether, from the social standpoint, the articles which are produced—and therefore consumed—in a planned economy would be better or worse than those produced in a capitalist system. Such an argument would involve a discussion of ultimate valuations on which no universal agreement would be possible. The real question is whether people are the best judges of what they want. Even the most convinced planner at the present day is conscious of the need for relating production, in some degree, to the desires of the consuming public. One of the most vigorous economic controversies of modern times has been concerned with the possibility, in a planned economy, of allocating resources on a rational basis determined by considerations of consumers' choice. Professor Carr ignores all the difficulties which have arisen in the course of this controversy. Who is to be the planning authority? Is planning to be purely arbitrary? If not, how are consumers' preferences to be registered in the absence of a free capital market? What incentives are to be substituted for the capitalist correlation between effort and reward? On what principle is the national income to be distributed? No answers are provided to these obvious questions. The fundamental difficulties of planning are completely ignored. If the present system of production for profit is abolished, the vacuum will be miraculously filled by an omniscient planner who will be an infallible judge of what consumers require. The discussion of planning is oversimplified to the point of naivety.

Attempts to meet the difficulty of peacetime planning by the experience of war are fundamentally misleading. "The economic consequences of the production of armaments," according to Professor Carr, "are no different from the economic consequences of the production of a pair of silk stockings, a film or a Beethoven symphony." No doubt all these activities give employment. If making work were the object of an economic system, all forms of production would be equally and indifferently desirable. Professor Carr does not however suggest that mere employment is an end in itself; indeed he expressly denies this opinion. If the object of production is not employment but consumption, there is this important difference between the production of armaments, a film or a Beethoven

symphony, that somebody wants the armaments whereas nobody may want the film or the symphony. In the one case the Government knows what it wants and orders it to be produced. In the other cases the planning authority may have no method of knowing what the consuming public want. In war there is general agreement about the sort of things that should be produced, and the desires of the consuming public are subordinated to the needs of the national emergency. In peacetime there is no such general agreement about what should be produced and no similar justification for depriving consumers of their freedom of choice. Of course it may be argued that the film or the symphony would be educationally or aesthetically good for the public, but this is to beg the question whether the public or the planning authority is the best judge of what should be produced. The distinction between what the public wants, what the public should want, and what the public has no right to decide is well brought out in the following passage from a leading article in *The Times* (28 March 1942) on questionnaires as a means of testing public opinion :—

" A process devised in the first instance to measure effective demand must not be mistaken for a yardstick of policy. A survey of answers to the question ' Do you prefer toffee to caramels ? ' resulting in a majority of seven to three for toffee may well be treated as final for an association of confectioners who will proceed to manufacture the two sweetmeats in that proportion. A similar answer to the question ' Dance band or symphony orchestra ? ' is (or should be) less conclusive for the allocation of time by the B.B.C. whose duty it is to form as well as to satisfy public taste. Passing still further from the original commercial level, the question ' Shall we choose this or that policy for pursuing the war ? ' is not suited to the survey method at all." [In war the Government calls the tune. In a planned economy the Government would call the tune in peacetime, but the public would continue to pay the piper].

The economics of war differ from the economics of peace in another respect, on which Professor Carr properly lays great emphasis. Nations, he points out, are willing to make sacrifices for wartime objectives that they are apparently unwilling to make for peaceful purposes. The problem of unemployment is solved in war because everybody is prepared to make sacrifices for public ends. If any peacetime gain could arouse the same enthusiasm as the desire to win a war, similar sacrifices would be made for the sake of construction that does not conform to the criterion of profit. In dealing with this part of the subject, Professor Carr avoids errors which are common in contemporary discussions. For one thing he refuses to regard the making of work as an end in itself. Unemployment is an evil that must be cured, but the right way to cure it is to stimulate the production of something which is socially " worth while." Secondly, he does not suggest that a programme of public construction, whether for war or peace, can be attained without sacrifices and costs. " Planned consumption implies not only drawing up a plan of those things which we wish to consume and establishing an order of priority between them,

but also restricting the consumption of other less essential or less desirable things and diverting the savings thus effected to finance our necessary programme of production." In war even the democratic countries have to take extreme measures to secure compulsory labour and compulsory saving. War is equivalent to a great boom characterized by a rapid increase of investment, financed by forced saving and the dissipation of existing capital and stocks and producing full employment. The problem is how a similar rate of investment supporting an equal volume of employment can be maintained in peacetime. Professor Carr argues, rightly, that the solution of the problem depends upon the community's willingness to make the same effort in peace as in war. The examples which he gives to illustrate his point are, however, rather unfortunate. Egyptian pyramids, Greek temples, and Roman baths and aqueducts were constructed by slaves. The palaces of the seventeenth and eighteenth century monarchs were built out of the oppression of peasants and taxpayers. Ireland, which he does not mention, was before the Union a country of noble mansions based on high rents and cheap labour. Many of the great public works of the past reflect the exploitation of nation by nation or of class by class. Full employment has been maintained in the totalitarian States mainly in conditions of war or preparation for war, and has been rendered possible by forced saving on the largest scale. The problem is whether the working classes in democratic countries will make, in peacetime and for their own sake, the same efforts and sacrifices that have been exacted from the exploited classes in the past or that the citizens of the totalitarian States have, apparently willingly, endured.

If the will to pursue a peacetime policy of public investment on a scale at all commensurate with the public investment in war were present, there is no shortage of useful objects that could be brought into being. Houses, schools, hospitals and recreation grounds are a few of the most obvious examples. The fact that such investments cannot be made pay in the narrow commercial sense is not a conclusive argument against their being undertaken, any more than the failure of a war to pay its way is a valid excuse for preserving a dishonourable or humiliating peace. But the fact that they cannot be paid for directly by the users of the services and amenities which they provide entails the consequence that they must be paid for in some other manner. The phrase about the " humbug of finance " has acquired such popularity that the introduction of the financial aspect of any proposed policy almost needs an apology. But merely to label a thing (or a man) a humbug does not conjure it (or him) out of existence. It is true that if a nation is sufficiently determined to pursue a certain course of action, it will refuse to be hampered by the prospect of plunging into debt to achieve its object. Professor Carr is right in saying that what is holding up a bold programme of public construction is not the financial machinery but the failure to make the proper use of it. " It is not knowledge that has failed us, but will ; not experts, but

leaders. Our civilization is in danger of perishing for lack of . . . a deliberate and avowed moral purpose, involving the call for common sacrifice for a recognized common good." The question of financing the public construction is admittedly secondary and is concerned with the machinery for securing the requisite degree of saving and its proper employment. Nevertheless it plays an essential part in every scheme of public expenditure and cannot be ignored without serious consequences.[1]

The final criticism that must be made of Professor Carr's economic programme is the disregard shown to the international aspects of planned consumption. Here again the experience of wartime is misleading. During war imports are greedily accepted, firstly because they do not cause unemployment of domestic labour for which abundant work is available, and secondly because they do not have to be paid for by current exports. But in peacetime those countries which, in Professor Carr's apt phrase, cannot or will not beg borrow or steal from their neighbours have to preserve an equilibrium in their balance of payments. This necessity imposes a further limitation on the capacity of nations to pursue ambitious programmes of public construction and creates a host of new problems for the " planners." It is clear from the passage where the continued untrammelled economic sovereignty of small nations is declared impossible that planning is contemplated either for large national areas or on lines of international co-operation. Professor Carr insists on the necessity for a " European Planning Authority, whose mission will be nothing less than the reorganization of the economic life of Europe as a coherent whole." Others would go further and would suggest that any planning that was not world-wide would lead to international conflicts in the future as it has done in the past. Professor Hancock, for example in a work reviewed elsewhere in this issue, envisages the possibility of a great scheme of colonial development by means of international public works designed to raise the standard of living of backward peoples without regard to their profitability to the lending countries. No such scheme would, however, be possible unless the principle of " lease-lend " could be applied in peace as well as in war. As in the case of internal investment, the way would not be lacking if the will were present. But the will, in this case, calls for sacrifices not for oneself and one's fellow-countrymen but for foreigners, backward races and former enemies. Such a sublimation of the spirit of nationalism implies a moral revolution which appears nowhere in sight. Until cosmopolitan can be substituted for national solidarity, planning may foment rather than assuage international friction.

GEORGE O'BRIEN

[1] The financial aspect of public works has been discussed in the article *Arterial Drainage in Ireland* in STUDIES December 1941.

ARISTOTLE AND ALEXANDER THE GREAT

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY

THE history of the fourth century B.C. is usually found comparatively dull by schoolboys who have to study it for examinations. It affords a very good example of the importance of fashion in historical judgment. George Grote, the English liberal, saw in Philip and Alexander of Macedon the slayers of Greek freedom and in Demosthenes its last champion. His contemporary, the German Droysen, depicted the Macedonian Kings as the precursors of Prussia, the heroes who realised Greek national unity by blood and iron. Quite recently a vivid article in an American review held up the last struggle of free Greece as a model and a warning to modern democracy, and found an abundance of Quislings, isolationists, and fifth-columnists in the *Olynthiacs* and *Philippics*. Such examples as these suggest that the searcher in ancient history for illumination on contemporary problems is apt to discover too easily just what he is looking for. The fourth century will always be worthy of study for many excellent reasons, not least because it was the century in which two such extraordinary men as Aristotle and Alexander lived and for a brief time worked together. Truth and legend alike attest the unique greatness of both, and there are few more tantalising as well as fascinating historical problems than that of their relationship and mutual influence. Unfortunately it is a problem the conditions of which only permit of fleeting glimpses at partial solutions.

Readers of Plato are familiar with one of the most urgent questions in the Greek political thought of the time : the question as to how science and political power should be adjusted to each other for the right ordering of the State. It had emerged from the challenge of the Sophists in the fifth century to the traditional and unsystematic education of the Athenian citizen and their demand for a greater rationalisation both of private and of public activity. The answer of Socrates to this challenge was formulated in Plato's *Republic*, and was very different from the one suggested by the Sophists. It was that all would not be well with the State until either philosophers should become kings or kings philosophers. Working out this thesis in practical terms, Plato propounded a wholly revolutionary scheme of education, which was to reach its perfection in an autocracy of sages—not, however, sages in the old amateur sense, but men picked from childhood for their all-round abilities and trained in the most rigorous methods of the most up-to-date science, including under that term everything from mathematics to metaphysics. It was to provide such a training in a community of study that Plato founded his Academy,

which already during his own lifetime had become the recognised source in all Greece for advice on political theory and general legislation.

Plato was not content with providing a home for pure theory, however. It is only in quite recent times that due attention has been paid to his career as a man of action and its effect on his doctrine. The fact that his political activity was confined to the Greek communities of Sicily and Italy, remote from his own city and from the most vital centres of Greek politics, has contributed to obscure this very important aspect of his work. He learned a great deal from his friend Archytas of Tarentum, the man who after Socrates probably exercised most influence on his development, and who seems to have succeeded to an astonishing degree in the establishment of scientific government in his native city. The failure of Plato's own efforts at converting the young Dionysius of Syracuse into a philosopher-king—efforts in which he was at times in considerable physical danger—was followed by the enterprise of his third great friend, Dion, who set out on what can best be called an Academic crusade for the establishment of the perfect State in Syracuse. It was a disastrous failure in practice, and perhaps its most enduring result was the theoretical distinction, developed by Aristotle from Plato's later teaching, between the prudence or practical wisdom of the politician and the contemplative wisdom of the philosopher.

Twelve years after Plato's final failure at Syracuse and the collapse of his hopes with the death of Dion, a new experiment was tried on a far more grandiose scale, when his greatest pupil, Aristotle, was appointed tutor to the future conqueror of the world, Alexander of Macedon, then approaching his fourteenth year. Plato was by this time four or five years dead, and the headship of the Academy had gone to his nephew Speusippus, a man by no means as fitted for it as many others besides Aristotle, who had spent nearly twenty years as Plato's pupil and working disciple. The death of Plato and the succession of Speusippus were followed, not unnaturally, by a schism in the school. Aristotle, with other distinguished scholars, went across the Aegean to Assos near the site of Troy, where two other old members of the Academy had established in their native town a centre of study under the patronage of the local ruler, Hermias of Atarneus. Hermias was a close friend of King Philip of Macedon, and Aristotle's father had long before been physician to Philip's father Amyntas. Whether or not this was the bond, a close friendship grew up also between Hermias and Aristotle, who married Pythias, his patron's niece and adopted daughter. After about three years at Assos, where he laid the foundation of his great biological work, Aristotle moved to Mitylene in Lesbos, there perhaps making the acquaintance of Theophrastus, who was to succeed him long afterwards as head of his own school in Athens. He had been in Mitylene for only a year when he received the invitation to become tutor to Philip's son.

Alexander can have enjoyed the tuition of his renowned master for

only a little over two years. In 340, at the age of sixteen, the prince was left as regent in Macedon during his father's absence on campaign, and shortly afterwards, in that capacity, took command of an army in the field himself. Aristotle indeed remained in Macedon for six years longer, till he set up his school in Athens—naturally under Macedonian patronage—in 334; but these six years were crowded with momentous political and military events. In 336 Alexander, just twenty years of age, succeeded to the throne on his father's assassination. He had a hard fight to hold Philip's newly-won empire together. Having achieved this within a year by a series of astonishing campaigns, he set out to complete Philip's programme by the conquest of Persia in the spring of 334. It is clear that Aristotle's departure for Athens in the same year indicates at least a certain intercourse between master and pupil even after Alexander had become regent.

Alexander was accompanied on his fateful expedition by Aristotle's nephew Callisthenes, who was to act as his official historian—a man of considerable ability and even brilliance, but unfortunately, as his uncle himself is reported to have said, devoid of natural common sense. Aristotle never saw Alexander again; his nephew, who at first eulogised the young king in the warmest and even most extravagant terms, and glorified him as the son of Zeus Ammon, surprisingly refused to make obeisance to him in Persian style in 327, and was soon afterwards executed for alleged conspiracy to murder his royal patron. This tragic event seems, not unreasonably, to have made a profound impression on Aristotle and his friends. His pupil, Theophrastus, wrote a treatise called *Callisthenes, or On Grief*, in which he said that Alexander did not know how to make a right use of his good fortune; and this was only the beginning of a lasting tradition by which Aristotle's followers condemned the conqueror as a cruel and capricious tyrant.

When Aristotle became Alexander's tutor, he was not of course nearly as famous a philosopher as his work at the Lyceum afterwards made him. Nevertheless he had already published a series of very remarkable books, chief among them being the *Protrepticus*, the *Eudemus*, and the *De Philosophia*. Of these books only fragments remain, but it was on them that his later reputation as a stylist was to rest. Cicero speaks of the "golden flow" of his style, a phrase hard to understand if he had in view only the almost styleless compilations of lecture-notes which are all that have come down to us, preserved by a romantic series of circumstances. He cannot therefore have been an entirely unknown young man—he was in fact over forty—when Philip chose him to teach his son, and there can be little doubt that the brilliant and well-informed Macedonian ruler was merely following the already recognised practice of seeking skilled educationists as well as advisers on political theory from among the disciples of Plato. On the other hand, it has been well established—especially since the recovery, in 1904, of Didymus's commentary on

Demosthenes—that even as early as 345 or so Philip was making plans for an eventual war against Persia, in which he himself was to play the part of avenger and liberator of the Greeks, and that Hermias was for many years acting as Macedonian secret agent or fifth-columnist within the Persian boundaries. The ruler of Atarneus was one of a number of petty adventurers who had succeeded in carving principalities for themselves out of the vast body of the Persian Empire when its central government was weak, and whose position, in case of a Persian recovery, was very precarious. In view of Aristotle's close connection with Hermias, it has been plausibly suggested that his appointment as royal tutor had something to do with the political affiliations between his father-in-law and Macedon.

If this suggestion—put forward by Werner Jaeger in 1923 in his brilliant and stimulating monograph on the development of Aristotle's thought—be accepted, Plato's disciple, fresh from Athens, found himself plunged, on his arrival at Assos in 347, into a very strongly anti-Persian environment. What has been less noted is the probability that, during his twenty years in Athens, this anti-Persian bias must have been almost entirely absent. It is true that Isocrates had long been preaching the ideal of Hellenic unity against Persia, and that his propaganda probably influenced Philip of Macedon or at least played into his hands. But Isocrates was not a man of great influence in Athens, where the dominant opinion was that of Demosthenes with his revival of the Periclean policy of an understanding with Persia; and the pro-Macedonian party, led by men like Aeschines, was a minority. Isocrates was also the sworn opponent of Plato and his school, whose educational ideas conflicted with his own, and Aristotle is well known to have taken part on his master's side in their controversies. More important than all this is the fact that, under the influence perhaps of Aristotle's friend, Eudoxus of Cnidus—probably, next to himself, the most brilliant thinker among Plato's associates—the Academy had for years before the master's death taken a great interest in Oriental science and religion. This interest produced some remarkable results.

Eudoxus seems to have been not only a close student of Babylonian astronomy and cosmology but also to have had a real knowledge of Zoroastrianism. There is no doubt but that this knowledge was shared by Plato and that it has left traces in his later dialogues, especially in the *Laws*. Its influence is best seen in a work whose Platonic authorship has been unreasonably disputed—the *Epinomis*, a brief appendix to the *Laws*, which even those who doubt its Platonic authenticity attribute to one of his close disciples and to a date very shortly after his death. In this treatise it is conceded that the Greeks, owing to their geographical position, have been later than the Orientals (by which is meant the Babylonians and Persians) in reaching knowledge of the divinity of the stars. The hope is then expressed that soon, " under the guidance of education, of the Delphic Oracle, and of the legalised forms of worship," the Greeks

will surpass their barbarian teachers in the practice of the new religion. This fits in exactly with the teaching of the *Laws*, and there is no doubt of its Platonic character. In another work, this time almost certainly not by Plato but by a disciple, the *First Alcibiades*, there is an account of the education of Persian princes, according to which they are handed over *at fourteen* (Alexander's age when he became Aristotle's pupil) to four " royal pedagogues " who teach them the Greek cardinal virtues of piety, " the Magian doctrine of Zoroaster son of Oromazdes," justice, temperance and valour.

Aristotle's dialogue *De Philosophia*, described by Jaeger as a manifesto to announce his independence of the Academy, was composed, in the words of the great Belgian scholars Bidez and Cumont,[1] " à la cour du tyran d'Assos, Hermias, avant que le philosophe fut chargé de l'éducation d'Alexandre et ainsi amené, peut-etre, à tenir compte de l'hostilité de la cour de Pella contre l'Asie et contre la Perse en particulier." Its date is fixed by Jaeger at in or about 347, but we can only conjecture from its contents that it must have been written before Aristotle became affected by the anti-Persian bias, which was not confined to Pella but was presumably shared by his future father-in-law, whether or not the latter was as yet the agent of Macedon. The dialogue in any case was strikingly free from any such bias. We need not enter into the complex question of its exact relation to Plato's later teaching, a question very fully discussed by Jaeger. What interests us at the moment is the admitted fact that it was a counterpart in its doctrine to the *Epinomis*, and that it actually suggested that Plato himself was a kind of reincarnation of the Persian prophet Zoroaster. It also contained a doctrine, whose Oriental origin is patent, of the harmony of the world conceived as a great temple dedicated to the worship of the Heaven. For the religion of Persia, which he identified with that taught by Plato and by himself, Aristotle in this work showed the deepest respect, declaring that the Magi were of more ancient date than the Egyptians and that Ormuzd and Ahriman were identical with Zeus and Hades. Jaeger is surely right in his judgment that all this interest in Oriental wisdom, " as an omen of Alexander's expedition and the consequent *rapprochment* between Greek and Asiatic . . . is of great and by no means sufficiently recognised significance." [2]

Aristotle's admiration for Persian religion, which in his case, as in that of Plato, went so far as to suggest an ultimate fusion between the cultures of Persia and Greece, was destined to receive severe shocks in the course of his association with Hermias and with the court of Pella. In 341, the year after his transference from Mitylene to Macedon, his first patron and father-in-law was treacherously seized by a Persian general, taken to Susa, and questioned under torture to make him reveal

[1] *Les Mages Hellénisés.* Par J. Bidez et Franz Cumont. Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 1938. Vol. I, p. 15f.
[2] *Aristotle.* By Werner Jaeger. English translation, 1934, p. 131.

Philip's secret plans. When he heroically refused to give any information, he was crucified, sending a last message " to his friends and associates "—an expression which surely included Aristotle—to tell them that he had done nothing weak or unworthy of philosophy. His father-in-law's fate moved Aristotle profoundly. He had already written a fine poem on his master Plato, " whom the unworthy are not entitled even to praise." Now he produced two on Hermias, one a brilliant brief lyric on Virtue, " for whose sake the nursling of Atarneus has left the sun's beams desolate," and the other an epigram on a cenotaph in Delphi, in which he spoke bitterly of the Persian king's crime for " not slaying him with the spear openly in the slaughter of battle, but using the faith of a treacherous man." From this time forward Aristotle was a hater of Persia, and it was in the atmosphere of this anti-Persian sentiment (to quote the words of Jaeger) that Alexander grew up.

We are unfortunately without any direct information as to the content of the teaching imparted by Aristotle to his pupil. It is known that he was busy about this time with the work on Homer which laid the foundation of all later Homeric scholarship ; and Alexander's character in future years gives probability to the story that his tutor made an edition of the *Iliad* specially for his benefit. Homer was of course the standard text-book in all Greek education, but we may suppose that Aristotle made the necessary ethical corrections in the teaching of the epic that his conscience as a Platonist must have demanded. There is no doubt at any rate that Alexander's first hero was Achilles, from whom he claimed descent on his mother's side. When he invaded Asia Minor he did so as the avenger of Greece on the barbarian and took care to visit Troy as the representative of its earlier conqueror. On his father's side he claimed descent from Heracles, and here the Macedonian royal genealogy coincided very conveniently with Socratic teaching ; for Heracles was a pattern of Socratic virtue and, in Alexander's lifetime, became the patron-saint of the Cynics, who carried that virtue to extremes. Besides this moral training through the medium of mythology, we may be sure that it was from Aristotle he derived his ever-active interest not only in Greek literature and art but above all in the scientific studies of which the Academy had been the home. Great advances in science, especially in geographical knowledge, were made as a result of Alexander's campaigns, and that they were possible is unquestionably due to Aristotle, for all that the conqueror, by the very extent of his conquests, confuted some of the philosopher's theories about the configuration of the earth. Their association had even more important results than all these ; for the ceaseless pursuit of every kind of scientific knowledge under the Hellenistic monarchs, of whom the Ptolemies were the most prominent, goes back to the imprint made on Alexander's mind between his fourteenth and his sixteenth year in the seclusion of the Nymphaeum at Mieza. To this Hellenistic pursuit of science we owe a great part of our civilisation.

All this, however, is in a sense incidental to the question upon which scholarship vainly seeks for an answer: how far were the political views and measures of Alexander affected by his contact with the author of the treatises on Ethics and Politics? The latest study of this engrossing subject, by Professor Ehrenberg,[1] comes to the disappointing conclusion that the answer is: practically not at all. "It would seem" says this highly competent authority "that the meeting of genius with genius . . . remained without a deeper meaning and without effect. The great creations of either were conceived and grew and took effect without any mutual impressions worth mentioning." Aristotle, after the great conqueror had left his tutelage, appears to have turned back to the narrow confines of the city state and to have paid no heed to the events that were altering his world out of recognition. Nothing in his *Politics* shows any trace of his having been impressed by his Macedonian experiences, unless we are entitled to say that his contempt for barbarians, apparently produced by the murder of Hermias, grew stronger instead of diminishing. Even his theory of kingship, often viewed as a reflection of Alexander's greatness, is most convincingly explained as the development of doctrines first expounded in Plato's *Politicus* before Alexander was born. He has nothing really relevant to say upon Greek unity, imposed for a time by the Macedonian power under whose protection he worked at Athens till forced to leave the city on the news of Alexander's death "lest the Athenians should sin twice against philosophy" as they had once by killing Socrates.

Alexander, on the other hand, seems to have departed further from his master's ideas the more his conquests progressed. Already in his first months in Asia Minor he showed that while in law he was both King of Macedon and Leader (*Hegemon*) of the united Greek States, he intended to deal with newly-conquered territories as his own and to rule as far as possible in accordance with local tradition in each territory. Thus he accepted adoption as her son by the princess Ada of Caria, leaving her undisturbed in the ancient domains of her family. After his victory at Issus he claimed to be the rightful ruler of the Persian Empire, and in Egypt he was proclaimed Pharaoh under the old native titles which implied his divinity. This was of course only for Egyptians; to the Persians he became simply the Great King and no god, though the Greeks could never understand how their obeisance to him did not constitute divine honours. His salutation by the priest at Siwah as "Son of Ammon" seems to have convinced himself that he was truly divine, and this belief he translated into action some years later when, on his return from India, he claimed worship as a god from the States of Greece. Thus his conception of his own position had evolved very far from the days when he thought of himself as Achilles or Heracles. It must not be supposed that in thus deifying himself Alexander was introducing Oriental notions into Greek

[1] *Alexander and the Greeks*. By Victor Ehrenberg. Oxford: Blackwell. 1938.

politics. On the contrary, such deification, though still rare, was quite in harmony with Greek ideas, while totally foreign to those of the Persians.

The capital difference between Alexander and Aristotle, however, was on the question of the treatment of the non-Greek peoples. We possess a curious record of Aristotle's advice to his pupil on this question, reported by the great scholar Eratosthenes, whose life covered most of the third century B.C. He tells us that Aristotle, in a letter to Alexander whose date we are unable to determine, counselled him to treat the " barbarians " as a master and the Greeks as a leader (*hegemon*, his official title), caring for the latter as friends and kindred and looking after the former as he would animals or plants. This accords well with the *Politics*, where we are told that " barbarians " are by nature slaves. The advice was rejected by the king, who claimed rather to be " the heaven-sent harmonizer and reconciler of the whole." That Alexander was quite sincere in this claim he showed on a famous occasion. In the summer of 324, after a violent quarrel with his Macedonian veterans, whom he had proposed to send home, he gave a great banquet at Opis on the Tigris to nine thousand guests, principally Macedonians and Persians, but including other races as well. The preliminary religious ceremony was performed by Greek soothsayers and Persian Magians, and during it Alexander himself prayed that concord and partnership in rule might be granted to Macedonians and Persians. Dr. W. W. Tarn, in a brilliant British Academy Lecture,[1] has interpreted this scene as a promulgation by Alexander of the doctrine of the unity and concord of all mankind, and has claimed that the doctrine was Alexander's own entirely original conception. It is more probable, however, that the gesture was meant to reconcile Macedonians and Persians as sharers in the Empire on an equal footing, as Wilcken has insisted. Alexander's originality may also be questioned, in view of the teaching of Aristotle on Persian religion in his *De Philosophia* ; and the conjecture may be hazarded that, in this striking action, Alexander was appealing from the narrow and exclusive Hellenism of his tutor's later period to the more generous and enlightened acknowledgment of Persian culture which was part of his Academic inheritance. Like much else for which scholars have sought a Stoic or similar origin, the germ of this fruitful doctrine of universal harmony may lie in the profundity of wisdom shared by the aged Plato and the vigorous disciple who transformed his teaching without perverting it. If this be so, we have here perhaps the most impressive instance of the lasting impression made on the mind of the greatest of kings by the greatest of philosophers.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

[1] Raleigh Lecture on History, 1933. Criticised by M. H. Fisch, *American Journal of Philology*, 1937, to whom Tarn replied *ibid*, 1939.

A CENTENARY AND A GOLDEN JUBILEE

Mother Morrogh Bernard and the Providence Woollen Mills

1842—1892—1942

BY JOHN RYAN, S.J.

ON April 26th there was celebrated at Foxford the Golden Jubilee of Providence Woollen Mills, an industrial enterprise that is perhaps the most interesting of its kind in modern times. In keeping with the nature of this unique undertaking the celebration was fundamentally religious. A High Mass of thanksgiving was sung in presence of the Bishop, Most Reverend Dr. Morrisroe. With him in the sanctuary was the Bishop of Killala, Most Reverend Dr. Naughton, whose diocese extends along the left bank of the Moy almost to the mill walls. The history of the venture was told with eloquence and power by Very Reverend Denis Gildea, parish priest of Tobercurry, and author of the classic Life of Mother M. Arsenius. In the afternoon a Pageant Play entitled " Ways of Providence in Eire " was staged under the brilliant direction of Mr. W. H. M. O'Shaughnessy by the mill operatives. Dramatic training was in the capable hands of Mr. Denis Barry. Thousands in Ireland and further afield were able to enjoy *in absentia* something of the exquisite music, rich harmonious singing and accomplished acting; for the High Mass and a portion of the Play were broadcast by Radio Eireann. Owing to the regrettable war conditions, the proceedings could not receive the attention they deserved in the daily and weekly press despite the generous manifestations of good-will which came on every side from editors.

It is a far cry from the peaceful, self-governing Eire of today, calm in the midst of world calamities, to the distracted and despairing Ireland of 1892. Parnell had sunk some months before into a premature grave, but the controversies which darkened the closing stage of his historic career continued to rage. Ireland was approaching the century's end with hopes unfulfilled. Home Rule was receding, with Gladstone's failing powers, into the region of political shadows. Only in the fight for the land had the wishes of the people been substantially met. The Land Purchase clauses in the Church Disestablishment Act of 1869, the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881, and above all the Land Purchase Acts sponsored by the Unionist Party in 1885 and 1891 had sealed the fate even of dual ownership and had made the return of the soil to the ownership of those who worked it a matter merely of time. Unfortunately, however, owing to ever increasing competition from the New World, agriculture in Europe had fallen on evil days. In Ireland, as elsewhere, farming no longer

paid. Irish industry, too, had been ruined by Penal Laws and had not been restored. It was, indeed, speculative whether a people who had lost their industrial habits would be able to adapt themselves to the altered circumstances evoked by the Industrial Revolution even if capital, and men encouraged to risk the use of it, were available. Irish commerce had been swept from the seven seas. Emigration in the decade 1881—1891 accounted for a loss of population bordering on half-a-million. Yet the English mind found it impossible to grasp the fact that Ireland was misgoverned, and resented the suggestion that the Irish nation had any really just ground for complaint. Such was the general situation in 1892.

How surprising, then, to find that the Mills at Foxford date precisely from that year ! And yet more extraordinary is the fact that the foundress was a woman and a nun ! The tale of the Mills is indeed, in large degree, the story of her unusual career.

Agnes Morrogh Bernard was born at Cheltenham in 1842. Her father, John Morrogh, belonged to a Cork merchant family that had acquired wealth and, through it, by purchase, a small estate some miles from the southern capital. Her mother, Frances Mary Blount, belonged to an English family that had remained loyal to the faith since the Reformation. John Morrogh's mother was a member of the Kerry planter family of the Bernards, who had become Catholic in the 18th century through the marriage of the heir with an O'Falvey girl. Soon after the birth of Agnes the estate of the Bernards passed by inheritance to John Murrogh, who thereupon added his grandfather's name to his own. In this manner the little Agnes Morrogh entered on life as Agnes Morrogh Bernard. She was carried back to Ireland as a child and reared at Sheheree House beside Killarney, where she was confirmed in the poor but venerable Old Chapel that preceded the present magnificent Cathedral. At the age of twelve she was sent to Laurel Hill Convent, Limerick—then, as ever since, a school of the highest distinction. No less than fifteen of her contemporaries among the girls embraced the religious life in various Orders. In the autumn of 1858, when she was approaching seventeen, she crossed over to Paris, to a convent of Augustinian Canonesses, for a two-year course that was to " finish " her secondary education. By September 1860 she was back in Killarney, a very accomplished young lady indeed—healthy, pretty, vivacious, affectionate.

With fond parents at Sheheree House to minister to her every want, with a grandmother at Glanmire House, Co. Cork, an uncle at Buttevant Castle, an aunt at Corbally, Limerick, and a cousin to escort her to hunt with the Limerick hounds, the lot of Agnes Morrogh Bernard was cast in pleasant places. There were the inevitable admirers, among them a baronet whose attentions must have been assiduous, for the engagement was announced (by way of intelligent anticipation, no doubt, since it was without authority) in the local press. But an ambition of a very different kind had been occupying her thoughts since the first months

of her stay at Laurel Hill. Again and again the call had come, until it finally was irresistible. In answer to it she determined to become a nun. Her father insisted that she should not take so important and irrevocable a step until she had reached twenty-one. A few months after that event, which was celebrated at Killarney with elaborate festivities, she entered at Harold's Cross the novitiate of the Irish Sisters of Charity. " Caritas Christi urget nos " would henceforth be her motto. Her life would be given to the service of God's poor.

The secrets of the soul are sacred ; and it is not for us to follow with prying eyes her spiritual progress during the long days of probation—those testing years devoted to the study and practice of Christian perfection. Suffice it to say that her companions (like other novices, no doubt, creatures of lynx-eyed virtue !) were impressed by her earnestness and by her obvious determination to carry the renunciation of self to its utmost limits. In many silent victories over her own will, in unswerving fidelity to grace, Sister Mary Arsenius, as she had now become, strove to live up to the ideal of her vocation. She taught the ragged children in the miserably poor and ill-equipped schools in Gardiner Street. Then for a decade she laboured faithfully in the National School, King's Inns Street, the Orphanage, Mountjoy Street, the Magdalen Asylum at Donnybrook, and the Orphanage at Lakelands, Sandymount.

During these years Sister Arsenius had given consistent proof of remarkable organizing ability. It was thus no surprise when, in 1877, she was nominated Rectress of the convent of her Order that had just been built at Ballaghadereen. Hunger, poverty, souperism were there the enemy. Aided by the Bishop, Most Reverend Dr. McCormack, by his priests, and very particularly by a great and good lady of the town, Mrs. Deane, née Anne Duff (aunt of the patriot, Mr. John Dillon), she and her nuns became the guardian angels of the whole parish. One example of her spiritual work of mercy may be cited. No less than 880 adults who had not been confirmed were discovered by her, instructed, and brought together on a convenient Sunday to receive the holy sacrament at the Bishop's hands.

With care of the soul went care also for the bodies of the poor. Not only was a fine school erected in the convent grounds, but a laundry too and a kitchen in which children were trained in cookery and various forms of household work. So impressive were the results that the Government in 1886 approved the establishment of an Industrial School under her care with grants for 75 girls. Soon a bakery was added. As the need for economy remained urgent she thought of manufacturing the cloth for apparel and other purposes required by the institution. There dwelt near by a respected family in which weaving had been a traditional occupation. Two of its young members, Kate and Mary Conroy, were invited to call on Mother Morrogh Bernard in October 1889. They came, little knowing that they would never more be separated

from her till her death. The two, indeed, were to become pillars, sound and strong, on which Foxford's claim to fame would one day largely rest. They transferred now to Ballaghadereen the family loom. Soon other machines were secured, and the girls in the National and the Industrial schools were given lessons in spinning and weaving. A new knitting room was established; crochet, lacemaking, dressmaking and button making were attempted with success; and the dream of the enterprising Mother Rectress was realized. Crosses and sorrows came, of course, in plenty—bad seasons, depressed markets, the bitter aftermath of political agitations, indifferent health, accidents, disappointments, but Mother Arsenius went placidly on her way, silent, recollected, fearless, enduring.

Though as yet she knew it not, the greatest work of her career was still to come. Mrs. Deane, her true and noble friend, had a special interest in Foxford, where heavy rents, overcrowding, and a notoriously sterile, inhospitable soil had combined to make conditions of life well-nigh intolerable. If so much good had been done by the nuns at Ballaghadereen, Mrs. Deane asked, why should her dear people at Foxford be deprived of similar blessings? Mother Morrogh Bernard was sympathetic, but the Bishop (now Most Reverend Dr. Lyster) and the authorities of the Order in Dublin, with a wholesome dread of Bankruptcy Courts, offered a hundred objections. These were eventually overcome; a loan was negotiated; and a house that had been a Freemason Lodge and was occupied then by the local parson was bought on the nuns' behalf by Mr. Bernard Egan of Ballina. This cottage, a ruined corn-store, and a neglected weed-ridden garden constituted the entire property. Furniture and fittings were not only scanty but of the most primitive type when, on April 25, 1891, Mother Morrogh Bernard arrived to rule this new foundation. On the following morning Dr. Lyster said Mass in an improvised chapel; the rooms were blessed, and the Convent of Divine Providence, Foxford, was launched upon the stormy world.

Attention was first directed to the children of school age, for whom a wooden building was erected. Those who could not attend for lack of clothes had that want supplied. Prizes were given for regular attendance; and a nourishing meal of hot porridge and milk was daily provided. Needlework, dressmaking, laundry work, knitting, cookery were added to the scholastic programme. In the poor homes of the parents, too, the nuns were soon welcome visitors. They came as angels of charity to the sick and dying. Medicine appeared, as if by miracle, and little stocks of those nutritive foods so needed by invalids, though the community itself lived in penury. In due course habits of thrift could be inculcated, and order and cleanliness in the management of house and family. The Congested Districts Board was induced to lend aid. With improved farming methods the face of the countryside gradually changed. Trees were planted, gardens laid out, and fruit and flowers appeared where formerly what met the eye had been a festering sore. A list could finally

be prepared of about 1200 houses which the nuns had transformed by their teaching and exhortation.

There remained, however, the chronic evil of poverty. Foxford might be spick and span, but the tragic fact had to be faced that the land was neither abundant nor rich enough to maintain its people in decent comfort. Migration and emigration were thus inevitable. If a remedy were to be found, a local industry of some size would have to be established. Along this road alone could salvation lie. Mother Morrogh Bernard gazed at the idle river rushing noisily down the rock-strewn fall and pondered. " Try me," it seemed to sing monotonously in her sensitive ear, " try me ! " " Yes," she answered resolutely to the stream one day, " I *will* try you ! " But she was a religious, with all the limitations imposed on individual initiative and activity by that way of life. She had not received a commercial training. And it was the end of the 19th century, the age of the new industrial order, of grimy factories, huge machines, complicated processes of exchange, purchase and sale in distant markets, organization on a giant scale. Would people think her crazy if she put before them as a practical project what was obviously but a futile dream ?

She took the risk and braved the consequences. The two looms which, years before, she had set working, were no longer needed at Ballaghadereen. She had them dismantled and transferred to Foxford and with them the two faithful sisters, Kate and Mary Conroy. Why not make these looms the nucleus of a woollen mill on the Moy ? She sought advice and was recommended to consult Mr. John Charles Smith, of the Caledon Mills, Co. Tyrone, a Protestant and a Freemason. He thought the idea quixotic ; but when, in never to be forgotten kindliness of heart, he came to discuss things with herself on the spot at Foxford and found that she meant to proceed anyway, he showed himself to be the most helpful of friends. Without him as architect, engineer and purchaser of machinery the little factory could hardly have got under way. Of all his services to the infant enterprise perhaps the greatest was the provision of a most able manager in the person of Frank Sherry, whom he had trained at Caledon for over seven years and with whom he was naturally reluctant to part. Then came the crucial question of money. Thousands of pounds were, of course, needed and could be secured only by borrowing. To the eternal honour of the Irish Sisters of Charity and of their Mother General be it said that they mortgaged the chief property of their Order at Mount St. Anne's, Milltown, Dublin, to provide the necessary capital. Thanks again to the influence of Father T. A. Finlay, S.J., the Congested Districts Board gave the project its support. It did so with infinite misgiving ; for the funds thus invested seemed to be in extreme jeopardy. We may say here once for all that the Board received its interest regularly and in due course received its money back to the last halfpenny.

" Providence will provide " Mother Morrogh Bernard was accustomed to exclaim in every difficulty. Before, then, the bell that called the workers

to their tasks rang for the first time on April 26, 1892, the factory had been given officially the name " Providence Woollen Mills." It is a truth of faith that what is done for " the least of these His little ones " is done for Him. To enable the poor to gain their daily bread is to contribute directly to His glory. Her work was, therefore, work for God, and her dearest wish was that it should ever remain worthy of God and under His special protection.

And under the all-seeing eye of Providence the mills have prospered since that raw April morning fifty years ago. The great drawback at the outset was lack of technical knowledge among the workers. Everybody had to be taught everything. Mr. Frank Sherry and his gifted brother James, who soon joined him, found it physically impossible to be in many places at once ! It can also be understood that the stamina of the first workers was not equal to heavy strains. Thus production per worker employed was at the lowest point ; the quality of the goods was at best ordinary ; the factory as a business proposition was uneconomic. But good-will and intelligence were valuable assets, and these were present in abundance.

Mother Morrogh Bernard insisted that the hallmark of Foxford work should be sheer excellence. Nothing spurious or second-rate should ever be associated with Providence Mills. As early as 1894 she sent her ablest operatives, Kate Conroy, Mary Kennedy, Brigid McKenna, to Scotland to compete at the Kirkly Lonsdale Exhibition of Arts and Crafts. Her confidence was amply rewarded, for they carried off several first prizes. As skill increased Foxford blankets and friezes began to appear in London and other centres and to attract favourable attention. Finally the day came when the appearance of Foxford flannels, tweeds, cloths, rugs, shawls, blankets became as regular a feature as the jumping at the Royal Dublin Society's Shows. Honours were won until they could no longer be counted. In texture, design and price Foxford fabrics held their own on merit in every market. The managers and the workers of Providence Mills had established their claim to rank among the most capable in the world. Buildings were enlarged, new machinery installed, stores and warerooms erected, and a tall chimney stack rose, not only to fulfil its common-place purpose but to point, like cathedral spire, to Heaven.

Progress in the commercial sense was, of course, gratifying to Mother Morrogh Bernard, yet in the last analysis it was the part in the working of the mill that interested her least. As a nun her aim was completely unselfish ; it was not to make money but to benefit her beloved Foxford people both in body and soul. She wanted to make them worthy citizens of the City of God, that eternal kingdom which is represented here below by the Catholic Church, *regnum veritatis et vitae, regnum sanctificationis et gratiae, regnum iustitiae, amoris et pacis,* to quote from the Preface of the Mass for the Feast of Christ the King. Here was the goal ; and the

sole way to it was by virtue. Here was human life as it should be led, useful, happy and full.

The material and the spiritual at Foxford thus went hand in hand. Wages were increased when circumstances permitted, marriage encouraged, solid, airy, clean new houses built to replace the old unsanitary cabins, cooking, dairy and knitting departments maintained for the training of the girls, lessons given in the cultivation of flowers and the rearing of poultry, a handball court erected where the boys and young men could display their physical prowess; whilst, at the same time, money was spent generously on the schools, a string band was constituted, and later a brass band, and finally a music school was organized (the only one of its kind in Eire outside of Dublin and Cork) and a fine hall built in which orchestral concerts were regularly performed and plays acted by the workers. Enthusiastic support was given to the Gaelic League and to the whole Irish Ireland movement. Time and again Foxford children carried off prizes at the Feis Ceoil in Dublin and at other Feiseanna. But sweetest of all in Mother Morrogh Bernard's ear sounded the voices of her children in the choir during High Mass or Benediction; and the brass band was most effective in the lovely Corpus Christi processions. And if, again, the priests had their private retreat each year and the nuns their private retreat as well, why should not the workers enjoy a like spiritual privilege? Why not, indeed? So she arranged that they should have their private retreat too, to the intense delight of the saintly Fr. Willie Doyle who conducted it, with such success that it has ever since been an annual institution.

It was a principle at Foxford from the beginning that the nuns should take an active part in the work of the mill, in all its sections. The mere presence of these refined and educated ladies had naturally a formative value that could not be estimated in terms of school benches, books or sermons. In a factory so directed there could be no place for vulgarity; rather was the atmosphere sweet with cheerfulness, simplicity, good manners. What struck visitors most was, indeed, the plane of social and moral elevation on which the Foxford operatives lived.

Of the heroic faith, hope and charity of Mother Morrogh Bernard there is no need to speak. Nor is there time to tell of her dauntless courage during the barbarous era of the Black-and-Tans; nor of her zeal for the Foreign Missions and for many another holy cause. As her long life drew to its saintly close perhaps her greatest consolation (next to the sight of her happy and virtuous Foxford children) was the appreciation which her efforts evoked from Irish exiles in distant lands. Included in letters of this kind were occasional monetary gifts, a coin, a few dollars, sometimes a five-pound note. These she carefully husbanded in the hope that one day the accumulated sum would help her to replace the flimsy tin chapel by a home less unworthy of her Eucharistic Lord. To her unspeakable joy the day came in 1925, when Most Reverend Dr. Morrisroe

consecrated the new convent chapel, designed by R. M. Butler, Professor of Architecture in University College, Dublin, a building modest, indeed, in size but second to few the world over in beauty. There she worshipped with characteristic devotion and special delight during the short years of pilgrimage that had still to run; and there beside the open coffin her heart-sore people wept and prayed when, on April 21, 1932, God called her to her heavenly home.

How dearly her memory is cherished was manifested in a thousand ways during the recent Jubilee celebrations. For in the decade since her death Providence Woollen Mills have continued to flourish, managed in her spirit by the Sisters and friends whom she trusted and loved. The workers now number more than 200, and the yearly wage bill is in the neighbourhood of £24,000. While towns and villages in other parts must rely on emigration, with its humiliations, its sorrows and its dangers, for the wherewithal to live, Foxford stands on its own feet. Its sons and daughters maintain themselves decently and religiously in their own country by the labour of their own hands. That is the heritage which Mother Morrogh Bernard left them. Frank Sherry still stands in his old place at the wheel, ably assisted by his brother James; and the orchestra and choir, under the masterly baton of Mr. O'Shaughnessy, make the finest compositions of music and song familiar on the Moy; and Kate Conroy, in her hospitable home, points with pride to a telegram of congratulation from Pope Pius XII, received last year on the occasion of her own Golden Jubilee in the mill; and workers of incomparable skill, many now in the third generation, live honourably and well in their neat dwellings, at peace with God and men; and tiny children and grandchildren, who appeared appropriately as angels, capturing all hearts, in a scene of the recent Pageant, bring gleams of joy into the good Sisters' eyes, for in them lies the promise of a bright and perhaps, in the Providence of God, a yet more prosperous future.

JOHN RYAN

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part II*

BULKELY (BUCKLEY), WILLIAM, soldier. Born at Clonmel on 7 December 1768, he entered Walsh's Irish regiment in the French army in 1785 through the influence of his uncle, Richard Butler, who had been colonel of that corps. While on a visit in 1786 to another of his uncles, who was Prior of La Roche-sur-Yon in Poitu, he met and fell in love with Celeste de la Catrie, the young widow of a local landed proprietor, who was renowned for her beauty, courage and daring. They were married soon afterwards. On the outbreak of the Revolution he refused, as a royalist, to take the military oath, left the army and retired to his wife's chateau at La Roche-sur-Yon. When the royalist-catholic insurrection broke out in La Vendée in the spring of 1793, he was appointed commandant of the district of La Roche, and on Holy Thursday of that year, accompanied by his wife and tenantry, marched the rebel forces against Les Sables, but they were repulsed by the republican troops. Joining the insurrectionary army of Charette some time later, they suffered all the hardships of the campaign of that intrepid fighter during the autumn of 1793. Towards the close of that year, however, the royalist cause met with many reverses, and in December the Irish officer and his wife were captured by the republican troops. Taken to Angers, they were tried before a military tribunal and, having been found guilty, were sentenced to death. Madame Bulkely was expecting to become a mother, and her execution was postponed, but her husband was guillotined on 2 January 1794. Some days later the mayor of Angers, in a letter to the mayor of Paris describing the executions that were being carried out in his town, stated : " Our Holy Mother Guillotine is busy at work. Within the last three days she has shaved 11 priests, 1 ci-devant nobleman, a general and a man (Bulkely) of splendid physique of 6 feet, whose head was too large for the guillotine ; it is now in the sack." Bulkely, while of gentle disposition, was a gallant soldier. When he held many republican soldiers as prisoners early in the fighting, some of his royalist comrades, including his wife, strongly favoured a proposal that they should be shot, but he successfully opposed it.

BURKE, FRANCIS, sailor. At the height of the Terror in Paris he was arrested on a charge of espionage and of being an English secret agent. Emphasising at his trial the fact that his father was an Irishman who had given loyal service to France, he protested his innocence, but he

* For Part I see March issue.

was ordered to be detained in the prison of the Carmes till his twenty-first birthday. A few months later, however, he was charged with a number of prisoners (which included two other Irishmen—General Thomas Ward and his servant John Malone) before the Revolutionary Tribunal with " conspiring against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic." Found guilty, he was guillotined on the evening of the trial—5 July 1794.

BURKE, JAMES, ecclesiastic. Son of James Burke and Mary Callery, and described as born in " the parrish of Saint Conald (?) in the diocese of Killaloe in Ireland." He went to France to pursue a course of ecclesiastical studies at the Irish college at Bordeaux and, after ordination as a priest, was appointed by Louis XV to the office of canon of St. Astier in the diocese of Perigueux. Later he was named curé of the parish of St. Jacques d'Ambes near Bordeaux. At the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789, he became an enthusiastic supporter of the new regime and soon gave up his clerical functions. In 1793 he became an intimate friend of Ysabeau, the Representative of the Paris commune, who had supreme power in the district of Bordeaux. In administering its affairs Burke zealously co-operated with and gave him much assistance. When the Irish college in the city was threatened with confiscation and Ysabeau asked him what reward he would desire for his signal services, Burke replied : " Save the lives of the fifty imprisoned students and preserve the Irish college from confiscation." As a result of the appeal, the fifty students were sent home to Ireland and the college was eventually preserved from being sold as national property.

During his Revolutionary activities Burke was guilty of many indiscretions and made many enemies, who did not scruple to spread calumnies regarding his character. Despite his zeal for the new order he was twice imprisoned, but was finally permitted to return to his parish. He had taken the oath to the Civil Constitution of the clergy, but after the Concordat in 1802 he was reconciled to the Church. In 1815 Lally Tollendal, Minister of State and Peer of France, pleaded for a full pension for Burke who, he said, saved the Irish college at the risk of his life. To restore it, Lally added, he ventured his last penny, for which his only reward was the most bitter persecution. Burke in his will left all his possessions for the object of founding a number of burses for young Irishmen destined for the priesthood and for a perpetual daily Mass for his soul. After a stormy life he died in 1822, when solemn honours marked his obsequies in the cathedral at Bordeaux. In a brochure, entitled " Burke a sauvé la mission de Bordeaux," he describes his experiences during the Revolutionary regime.

BUTLER, JAMES, ecclesiastic. He came of the Butler family of Kilcop, Co. Kilkenny, to which house also belonged Edmund Butler, who died in 1725 at St. Germain-en-Laye, holding the rank of Field-Marshal in

the French army. Residing in France from infancy, the abbé James Butler was a zealous adherent of the Stuarts and played an active part in the movements for their restoration. In June 1745 he accompanied as chaplain the little party which left Nantes with Prince Charles Edward to raise the standard of insurrection in the Scottish Highlands. During the perilous journey he was, according to the Prince, " of great value to them." On reaching the coast of Scotland he returned to France with Antony Walsh in the latter's vessel. Immediately on his arrival he received a letter from King James's secretary which ran : " The occasion for my writing to you is to desire you to write in French as particular an account as you can of all you know of the Prince personally from the beginning of the expedition to the time you left him in Scotland. That you may do this the better, I shall tell you in confidence the use proposed for such a paper : Mr. Voltaire the famous poet is, I hear, desirous to make a poem on H.R.H. and his enterprise, and wants material to go upon, and you can furnish him with this better than anybody I know." In France, too, the Irish abbé, after his return from Scotland, collected money and munitions for the Jacobite cause and, after the failure of the '45, Prince Charles in gratitude for his zeal requested the king to obtain for him a benefice in Brittany.

Butler, Pierce (3rd Viscount Galmoy), soldier. Born in 1652, he was a loyal Jacobite and fought with distinction at the Boyne and Aughrim, and was one of the signatories to the Treaty of Limerick. Attainted for his activities, he could have, had he remained in Ireland, got back his confiscated estates. He followed Sarsfield to France, however, in whose service he fought through the Italian and German campaigns with much gallantry. In 1705 he passed into the Spanish army, where he attained equal distinction. Returning to the French service in 1722, he held the rank of Lieutenant-General till his retirement. He died at Paris in 1740 in his eighty-eighth year. By his wife, a daughter of Toby Matthew of Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny, he had a son, Edward, who was also an officer in the army of France and was killed at the battle of Malplaquet in 1709. His title of " Viscount Galmoy " was borne by various members of the Butler family in the French service till 1828. The title was then claimed by a descendant of an uncle of the third Viscount, who died before the claim was determined.

A namesake and kinsman—Pierce Butler, 2nd son of Edmund, 8th Lord Dunboyne—was also an officer in the French army from his twelfth year. On the death of his eldest brother in 1768, however, he left France for Ireland, where he obtained the royal pardon and conformed to the Protestant religion. (His granduncle, the Right Rev. John Butler, Catholic bishop of Cork, who later succeeded to the title, also conformed to Protestantism and married, but was reconciled to the Church before his death).

Many other representatives of various branches of the great Ormond family were officers in the Irish Brigade in France. (See the De La Ponce MSS. in the R.I.A.). A Butler family of Galway, not related to that of Ormond, settled at La Rochelle towards the middle of the seventeenth century. The first of them was Richard, a merchant and banker, whose grandson John was mayor of La Rochelle in 1740. It is of interest to note that Dr. Cornelius O'Keeffe, bishop of Limerick, who functioned for some time as a priest in that French town, bequeathed in his will in 1737 " one hundred livres to Mr. John Butler for the use of the poor of the parish of Rochelle." In direct descent from those mentioned was James Patrice, Count de Butler, an army officer who died at Paris on 27 May 1793 and whose son John also followed a military career. This family is at present represented in France by Count de Butler.

BUTLER, RICHARD, naval officer. Son of Thomas Butler of the family of the name styled Barons of Cahir. Born in Ireland, he was naturalised in France and was admitted into the ranks of the French nobility in 1740. Having entered the French naval service, he became captain in the " Compagnie des Indes." He resided at Saint Malo where, on the 21 October 1721, he married a sister of Antony Walsh of Nantes—one of the " Seven men of Moidart " who was knighted by Prince Charles Edward for his services. When the Prince was a fugitive in Scotland after the defeat at Culloden, the French government entrusted the Irish officer, Colonel Richard Warren, with the task of rescuing him from his perilous position. The negotiations leading up to the arrangements for that object were necessarily secret, and Butler played an important part in them in his position as intermediary between Warren and D'Argenson, the Minister for War.

BYRNE, MILES, soldier and author. Born at Monaseed, Co. Wexford, in 1780. A United Irishman, he took an active part in organising Wexford and showed much gallantry and courage at Vinegar Hill and other engagements during the Insurrection of 1798. After the defeat of the insurgents in his native county he joined Holt and Dwyer in the Wicklow mountains, where resistance was kept up for a considerable time in the hope of French aid. In 1803 he was one of Robert Emmet's most trusted lieutenants. On the night of the outbreak in Dublin Byrne was to lead the Wexford and Wicklow men in an attack on the Ship Street entrance of the Castle, and lay ready with them to do so some distance away. But the attack by Emmet on the main entrance did not take place, and the attempted insurrection failed. Byrne, acting on Emmet's advice, proceeded to France to seek for French aid and, with Arthur O'Connor, Doctor MacNevin, Thomas Addis Emmet and others, presented a petition to Napoleon. At the end of 1803 the latter ordered the establishment of

an Irish Legion in the French army, which was to be the vanguard of a new French expedition to Ireland. Byrne became an officer of the Legion, in which he began his long career of military service under Napoleon in Spain, the Low Countries and Germany. Promoted Captain at an earlier period, he was chosen in 1810 to command in Spain a *bataillon d'elite* of Irish troops. In 1813 he was made a chevalier of the Legion of Honour for distinguished service, and after the Revolution of 1830 was appointed *chef de bataillon* in the 56th regiment of the line.

In 1835 Byrne resigned his commission and settled in Paris. There he wrote his *Memoirs* which, though somewhat lacking in order, is a fascinating and valuable narrative of his experiences during the Insurrection of 1798 and of his subsequent career in the French army. In almost every page the book mirrors the rare modesty, nobility and quiet heroism that marked its author's splendid character. During his years of retirement he was a notable figure in the French capital. John Mitchel has left a vivid picture of him, " walking on bright winter days along the Avenue of the Champs Elysées, a tall erect figure, magnificent in old age . . . memories clouding at times his clear grey eyes ; and through and beyond the battle smoke and thunder of all Napoleon's fields he has a vision of the pikemen of New Ross and hears the fierce hurrah on Oulart Hill." Miles Byrne died at his residence in Paris on the 24 January 1862. At his burial in the cemetery of Montmartre, Colonel Daumer, an old comrade-in-arms, delivered a funeral oration.

Callaghan (O'Callaghan), John. Ecclesiastic and polemical writer. He was born in 1605 at Killone near Macroom, Co. Cork, and was (he writes himself) " the fifth child of Dermot MacCallaghan and Catherine MacCallaghan, his distant relative and lawful wife." His father was a distant relation of Donagh MacCarthy, Lord Muskerry. Going to France in 1627, he studied at the college of the Oratorians at Nantes and later at Rennes, while he studied theology for four years at La Flèche under the Jesuits. Later he went to Paris, where he became doctor of the Sorbonne. Returning to Ireland for a short period at the time of the Confederation of Kilkenny, he became there a staunch supporter of Ormond (who was a brother-in-law of his kinsman Lord Muskerry) and an opponent of Rinuccini. Again going to France, he became curé of Cour Cheverny near Blois. He was a zealous Jansenist, and in 1650 a long controversy, at times very bitter, began between him and Brisacier, a Jesuit residing at Blois. In connection with this, Callaghan wrote a considerable number of pamphlets. He also wrote *Vindiciae Catholicorum Hiberniae*, which was published in Paris in 1650. This book, in which Rinuccini is attacked, was the cause of much recrimination, and its authorship was wrongly ascribed to Richard Bellings, secretary to the Supreme Council at Kilkenny. With his fellowcountryman, Lord Taaffe, Callaghan was selected to go to Rome to solicit the Pope's help in the

restoration of Charles II, but the mission was abandoned on account of the unsuitability of Callaghan by reason of his extreme Jansenist views. He died at Paris in 1654, and his last wish was that he should be buried at Port Royal. Despite the bitterness of the controversies in which he engaged, Callaghan was admitted even by his opponents to be a man of irreproachable life.

CANTILLON, JAMES, soldier. Eldest son of Philip Cantillon, eighth baron of Ballyheigue, Co. Kerry. Forfeiting his title and estates for his fidelity to the Stuarts, he went to France in the wake of James II and entered Dorrington's Irish regiment. He fought under Marshal Villars in the Flanders campaign. At the battle of Malplaquet in 1709 he was the first to cross the enemy's lines at the head of a detachment of grenadiers, received eleven wounds and had his sword broken in the fighting. An official account of the engagement states: "When the left of the French army, taken in flank by the right wing of the enemy's army under the orders of the Duke of Marlborough, began to recoil, the Marechal de Villars brought up as quickly as possible the Irish Brigade, which was in the centre. It attacked with fury the English troops, whom it repulsed. Cantillon, at the head of the grenadiers of the Regiment of Dorrington, first approached the enemy's line, exclaiming to his men '*Forward, brave Irishmen! Long live King James III and the King of France!*' The incident was the subject of a tableau which is in the archives of the French war office; a celebrated French artist has reproduced the tableau in a painting, which is now in the possession of the descendants of the Cantillon family in France.

In the next generation his son Thomas, also an officer of the Irish Brigade, distinguished himself at Lauffelt in 1747; a writer as well as a soldier, he was the author of "Histoire de Charles XII, roi de Suède," and of "Délices du Brabant et de ses campagnes."

CANTILLON, RICHARD, banker. Brother of preceding and second son of Philip Cantillon of Ballyheigue. In 1691, after the exodus from Ireland where he fought at the Boyne, he settled in Paris. In that city he established a bank of European repute, whose clientèle was largely composed of expatriated Jacobites. Thus the Carte MSS. describe James III (the "Old Pretender") as having in 1714 overdrawn his account with Richard Cantillon to the extent of £2,752, while in the Stuart MSS. there are several references to Queen Mary of Modena as being in debt to him. He died a bankrupt in Paris in 1717.

CANTILLON, RICHARD, banker and economist. A relative of the preceding, he was born in the ancestral home at Ballyheigue in 1680. Little is known of his early life beyond the fact that he was an extensive traveller in the most distant countries. In 1716 he established a financial

house at Paris like his relative and namesake, whose business, though in a state of bankruptcy, he took over in the following year. He became one of the most astute bankers in the French capital, where he moved in the most exclusive social circles. In 1720 a fever of speculation spread like a contagion throughout France in connection with the wild currency scheme of the Scotchman, John Law, who largely controlled the finances of that country at the time. Cantillon made an immense fortune by speculating in the shares of the Mississippi company, and soon after retired to London. At that city in 1734 his house was burned to the ground on a May night after he had retired to rest. The subsequent inquiry showed that he had been murdered by his cook, a Frenchman, who was in his service for many years and whom he had dismissed a few days before.

Cantillon, as author of one of the first most complete treatises on economics, has been called the "father of political economy." The volume is entitled "Essai sur la nature du commerce en général." It has been described by a high English authority as "more emphatically than any other single work the cradle of political economy," while a French critic has declared that it anticipated all the modern theories of the economists. In 1722 he married Marianne O'Mahony, daughter of a wealthy Irish merchant of Paris and a half-sister of Lord Clare, commander of Clare's Irish regiment in the French army. His daughter by this marriage married firstly into the Norfolk family of the Howards and later married Lord Farnham. A daughter of the latter marriage married in 1780 the Hon. Denis Daly of Dunsandle, Co. Galway.

The Cantillon family, it is interesting to note, had earlier and later associations with France than those connected with these banker members of the name. During the Elizabethan regime in Ireland two priests of the family, Edward and John, were victims of religious persecution. The former died in prison at Cork, while John fled to France where he became curé of Bonnac in the Marche-Limousine. In the next generation the latter's nephew escaped from the Cromwellian proscription in Ireland and became curé of the same place in France. In 1818 a Cantillon, subaltern in the French army and a zealous adherent of Napoleon, made an attempt to assassinate the Duke of Wellington in Paris. On trial he was acquitted by a Paris jury. Napoleon, in his will made at St. Helena shortly before his death, bequeathed him 10,000 francs. "Cantillon had as much right," wrote the great soldier, "to assassinate Wellington as that oligarch had to send me to perish on the rock of St. Helena." And in 1839 King Louis Philippe conferred the title of Baron de Ballyheigue on Colonel Antoine Cantillon, chief representative of the family in France, who in 1843 was President of the Council of War at Paris. (Colonel Cantillon was a grandson of Thomas Cantillon, who distinguished himself as an officer of the Irish Brigade at Lauffelt in 1747).

CANTWELL, ANDREW, physician and medical writer. Born in Tipperary in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Going to France, he went through a course of medical studies at the famous school of Montpellier where he graduated in 1729. Soon afterwards the chair of medicine becoming vacant there through the resignation of the eminent French physician Jean Astruc, Cantwell became a candidate for that office. He failed, however, in procuring the appointment, and in 1753 he settled in Paris, at whose medical school he continued his studies and received the degree of M.D. in 1742. His three theses were (1) " An aer ab inundatione salubris? "; (2) " An ptyalismus frictionibus mercurialibus provocatus . . .? " and (3) " An calculo vesicae scalpellum semper necessarium? " In the French capital he was appointed in 1750 professor of surgery in the Latin language, professor of the same subject in the French language in 1760, and professor of pharmacy in 1762. He became a violent opponent of inoculation against smallpox, which, as a prophylactic method of treatment, was giving rise to warm discussions throughout France in the eighteenth century. He was the author of a large number of medical works, of which the more important were: (1) " Conspectus secretionum " (1731). (2) " Dissertations sur ce qui manque à la médecine." (Paris 1729). (3) " Quaestiones medicae duodecim " (Montpellier 1732). (4) " Discours latin sur la dignité et la difficulté de la médecine " (1755). He died at Paris on 11 July 1764.

Cantwell had a son, Andrew Michael, who was born in 1744 and entered the French army. Retiring from active service owing to ill-health, he was admitted into the " hopital des Invalides " in 1792. He became librarian of that institution and died there on 7 July 1802. He translated into French a considerable number of English works, among which were: (1) " Histoire de la décadence et de la chute de l'Empire romain." The first three volumes appeared in 1777 under the name Leclerc de Sept-Chenes, but it is believed that the real translator was Louis XVI. (2) " Histoire des femmes, depuis la plus haute antiquité jusqu'à nos jours " (1793). (3) " De la naissance et de la chute des anciennes républiques " (1793)—from the English of Montagu.

CASSIDY, FELIX, physician. Belonging to the famous medical family of his name, which was attached to the Maguires, lords of Fermanagh, he was one of the physicians at the Jacobite court of St. Germain-en-Laye, where he was a prominent figure during the first decades of the eighteenth century.

CHATELLUX, MARQUISE DE (Mary Brigitte Plunket). Born at Louvain on 8 September 1757. She was daughter of Thomas Plunket, Baron of the Austrian Empire and Lieutenant-General of the Austrian army, by his wife Marie Dalton of Grenanstown, Co. Tipperary. (General Plunket, a relative of Lord Dunsany, was son of John Plunket of Castle Plunket,

Co. Roscommon, where he was born in 1716). At the French court Mademoiselle Plunket became lady-in-waiting to the Duchess of Orleans, the wife of Philippe Egalité. In 1787 she met the Marquis de Chatellux, representative of an old French aristocratic family, and they married soon afterwards. The Marquis was a distinguished figure of the day, had a high reputation as a soldier, and was the author of several works and a member of the French Academy. He was an intimate friend of Washington who, in a congratulatory letter to him on his marriage, wrote : " Married, my dear Marquis ? You, too, caught ! I have a great mind to laugh." His wife presided over a fashionable salon at Paris, but her husband died a year after their marriage, of which there was one child. After the outbreak of the Revolution, the Marquise was imprisoned at Paris as an aristocrat during the Reign of Terror. Her gaol from November 1793 to November 1794 was the Austin convent where she had been educated. Morris, the American ambassador in Paris at the time, describes her in his " Memoirs " as " an extremely charming and accomplished Irishwoman."

Chenevix, Richard, chemist. Son of Colonel Chenevix and nephew of the Protestant bishop of Waterford. Born at Dublin in 1774, but according to some authorities at Ballycommon, King's County. Ardently devoted to science, he was a student of chemistry at Paris during the early years of the Revolution. At the height of the terror, being then but nineteen years old, he was arrested as a British subject by the Revolutionary Section of the city in which he resided. Some months later (May 1794) he wrote from prison and requested that, having sold his horse, the hay and oats, of which he had no further need, should be given to the Section. Released from prison in due course, he returned to Paris after the Revolution and resumed his studies there. Most of his valuable contributions to chemical science were published in French journals like the *Annales de Chimie* and the *Journal de Physique*. He was also the author of a comedy (*Henry the Seventh*) and other dramatic works as well as a book of poems. In June 1812 he married the Countess de Ronault and died (without issue) at Paris on 5 April 1830.

Clancarty, 1st Earl of (Donough MacCarthy), soldier. Born 1594. Son of Sir Charles MacCarthy (Viscount Muskerry) and Margaret O'Brien. A prominent member of the Supreme Council at Kilkenny, he was commander of the Munster Irish in the Confederate war. After the confiscation of his property he followed Charles II abroad with 5,000 retainers. At Paris he associated with the Jansenist party, who at the time were supporting the exiled king and were hoping that, on his becoming a Catholic, he would favour their principles. In the French capital Clancarty's daughters were at school at Port Royal, whose nuns relieved his wife and children in their difficult circumstances. He himself had

intimate associations there with prominent Jansenists like his kinsman the Irish priest Dr. Callaghan and with the Duc de Luynes and the Marquis de Fabre—the Duc de Luynes is said to have helped his lordship even to the extent of clothing him. Before becoming the Earl of Clancarty, he held the title of Lord Muskerry and married the sister of the Duke of Ormond. He died in 1665.

CLANCARTY, 5TH EARL OF (Robert MacCarthy), soldier. Born in 1686, he was the son of Donough MacCarthy, 4th Earl of Clancarty (whose estates in Ireland were confiscated after the Jacobite war of 1691) by his wife Lady Elizabeth Spencer. On his father's death at Hamburgh he resigned his commission as captain in the English navy, having failed to regain his family's confiscated estates. He settled in France, became an enthusiastic Jacobite, entered the army, and was a notable figure at the French court where he enjoyed all the privileges of the higher nobility. He resided at first at Versailles and later in a chateau at Boulogne, enjoying a pension of £1,000 yearly from the king of France and living very ostentatiously. Every month at Boulogne he arranged for a sumptuous dinner at a hotel, Le Lion Rouge, owned by an Irishman named O'Doherty. To these convivial gatherings, over which he always presided, a large but select number of friends were wont to be invited. He was the leading supporter in France of Prince Charles Edward, between whom and the French court he frequently acted as mediator in delicate negotiations, and played an important part in the enterprise of the '45. A particular friendship existed between him and his countryman, General Sir Thomas Lally who, during his journey to Paris in 1761 to face his enemies, visited Clancarty at Boulogne. The latter pressed him strongly not to go ; but Lally, obstinate and unconscious of any guilt, continued his journey and after a mock trial was executed.

The Earl of Clancarty was described as of middle size, stout-made, long-visaged and pock-marked. He had lost the sight of one eye as a young man in a drunken brawl with the notorious Earl of Wharton who flung a bottle at him. In Andrew Lang's Jacobite writings he is represented in an unfavourable light, though many of his contemporaries speak highly of his character—a leading Scottish Jacobite, Lord Sempil, who knew him intimately, describes him as " a very brave and worthy man." Through his wife he was related to the FitzGerald family of Kildare, and when James the 20th Earl of that house was created Duke of Leinster, Clancarty denounced relationship with him in contempt of his having the dignity from a Hanoverian source. Dying in his eighty fourth year in his chateau at Boulogne in poor circumstances, he was the last earl of the great house of MacCarthy. One of his sons (illegitimate), Robert, became an officer in Walsh's regiment of the Irish Brigade and married in France in 1772 Rose, daughter of Nial O'Neil, " prince of Ulster." Soon after the outbreak of the Revolution, Robert with his family left France and came to

Ireland, where he was buried in the ancestral vault at Kilcrea, Co. Cork, in 1815.

CLANCY, MICHAEL, M.D., author and dramatist. Born in 1704 in Co. Clare. His father was Daniel Clancy, whom the son in his *Memoirs* describes as " a military man and a man of letters of an ancient and once powerful family." (Some members of the Clare family of the name were attainted in 1691 by reason of their Jacobite zeal. Emigrating to France, several of them settled in the city of Nantes, prospered at various vocations and founded bursaries there for the education of natives of Ireland. Thomas Clancy—or Clanchy, as the name was sometimes written—whose father had settled in Limerick after that city's capitulation in 1691, went to France, too, for his medical education and, returning to Ireland, became a leading Limerick physician in the middle of the eighteenth century). In his eighth year Michael Clancy was sent to Paris, probably to the College of Navarre, where his Greek master was his countryman, the illustrious Dr. Michael Moore. Coming back to Ireland, he entered Trinity College in his seventeenth year and later returned to France, where he underwent many vicissitudes which he vividly described in his *Memoirs*. At Bordeaux he became acquainted with the celebrated Montesquieu, with whom he lived for six months. Returning to Ireland once more in 1744, after spending twenty years in France, he wrote several comedies and tragedies (*Hermon Prince of Choraea, The Sharper* &c.), as well as his *Memoirs*, some poems and miscellaneous pieces. In Dublin he became the friend of Swift and Lord Chesterfield. He became blind at a comparatively early age and was granted a pension of £40 yearly on the Irish establishment. He died on 7 April 1776.

CLARE, 5TH VISCOUNT (Charles O'Brien), soldier. Born in 1670. Son of Daniel O'Brien, 3rd Viscount. In the Jacobite war in Ireland he commanded one of the regiments raised by his father for James II. Going to France after the Limerick surrender with the rank of captain in the " gardes du corps " of James II, he fought at the battle of Marsaglia in 1693, where his brother was fatally wounded. In 1696 he was appointed colonel of his own (O'Brien's) regiment, which became Clare's in that year. At its head he went for ten years through various campaigns in Italy and Germany, winning renown for himself and the name of France. In 1706 he was severely wounded at Ramillies, where thirty-six Irish officers were killed. Three days after the battle he died at Brussels and was buried in the church of the Holy Cross at Louvain where his widow erected a monument to his memory. He had one daughter, Laura, who married in France the Comte de Breteuil, and a son Charles who succeeded him as the 6th Viscount.

CLARE, 6TH VISCOUNT (Charles O'Brien), soldier. Son of the preceding. Born in 1689 at St. Germain-en-Laye. As a boy he was a page at the court of Louis XIV and later became an officer in his father's regiment. At the age of twenty he went through the Spanish campaign under his uncle, the Duke of Berwick. While still a young man he was invited to England by his cousin the Earl of Thomond. He was presented there to George I as heir to the Earl's honours and estates, and was guaranteed a pardon on condition of his conforming to the Protestant religion. He refused the offer. The Earl of Thomond died in 1741, bequeathing his estates to a Protestant O'Brien but leaving a legacy of £20,000 to Lord Clare. The latter, after his cousin's death, assumed in France the title of Earl of Thomond. This led to a long dispute between him and his kinsman, Colonel Murrough O'Brien of Carrigogunell, who also laid claim to the Earldom. The latter was a distinguished officer of the Irish Brigade, and on his death his son continued to assert the family claim. Eventually, however, the prior claim of his adversary was generally recognised. Lord Clare fought in the campaigns of the Rhine and Flanders, and especially distinguished himself at Fontenoy in 1745, the great victory there being largely due to the valour of the Irish troops under his command. Voltaire wrote of him in that engagement as follows:

> Clare, avec ses dragons, qu'animent nos exemples,
> Venge son roi trahi, son Dieu et ses temples.

Two years later he again won renown with the Irish regiments at Lauffelt. In 1757 he was created a Marshal of France for his outstanding military abilities. In 1759 the French government was planning an invasion of Ireland with an army of 50,000 men, of which he was to be second in command, but the disastrous defeat of the French fleet under Admiral Conflans blasted the hopes centred on a great project. Lord Clare died at Montpellier in 1761. By his marriage in 1755 with the Marchioness of Chiffreville he left a son and a daughter. The son died unmarried in his eighteenth year at Paris, and with his death the titles of Clare and Thomond became extinct, and the regiment of Clare was incorporated with that of Berwick. The daughter married the Duke of Choiseul-Praslin in 1758—their grandson was the Duke of the name who murdered his wife in 1847.

CLARKE, HENRY JAMES (DUKE OF FELTRE), soldier and diplomatist. Born of Irish parents at Landrecies in France on 17 October 1765. His father, Thomas Clarke, was a colonel of Dillon's Irish regiment; his mother, Louise, was a daughter of William Shee (O'Shee) of Landrecies, who was also an officer of the Irish Brigade. William Shee was son of Martin Shee of Camas, Co. Limerick, who, with his three sons (one of whom was grandfather of the future Duke of Feltre), came to France in 1725; the father and sons entered Clare's Irish regiment there. Martin

Shee's father, William, had come from Co. Kilkenny after the siege of Limerick and settled at Camas, where later a marriage relationship was established between the Shees and the famous military family of the Brownes of that place. It should be mentioned, too, that Margaret, daughter of Martin Shee (who, as has been stated, emigrated to France with his sons), married John Harty of Knockaney near Knocklong, Co. Limerick; their son was General Oliver Harty, the famous soldier of the Revolution.

Henry James Clarke entered the Ecole Militaire at Paris in 1781, and in the following year became a lieutenant in Berwick's Irish regiment. His father died while he was still a boy, and he came under the care of his uncle, Colonel Henry Shee, who was secretary to the Duke of Orleans (Philippe Egalité). Much of the young officer's subsequent advancement was due to the interest of that prince, in whose royal regiment of Hussars he became captain in 1784. In 1789 he left the army to take up a diplomatic post in the French Embassy at London and, while there, he visited Ireland where he became acquainted with his parents' relatives. Returning to France in 1791, he resumed military life and distinguished himself as cavalry colonel during the Rhine campaign in the first war of the Revolution. Like many other French and Irish officers in the Revolutionary army, he became suspect in 1793—" most unjustly " as he himself wrote—and was suspended from military duties. Early in 1795, however, the suspension was removed, and Carnot appointed him chief of the typographical department of the War Ministry. It was while in this office that he had, during 1796, frequent conversations regarding Ireland with Wolfe Tone, who gives in his *Diary* a vivid account of their interviews.

At this time Clarke was sent on a secret diplomatic mission to Vienna, where he assisted Bonaparte in concluding the famous treaty of Campo Formio. The Directory, jealous of the growing power of Napoleon, to whom Clarke had become greatly attached, recalled the latter and deprived him of his rank as general and of his post at the War Office—in which, however, he was reinstated after Brumaire (November 1799). In 1804 he became private secretary to Napoleon for military affairs and, in the rank of general, fought under his master in the German campaign at Ulm, Iena, &c. He was appointed Minister of War in 1807, a post he occupied till April 1814. In administering its duties he showed much ability and initiative, and in 1809 he received high praise particularly for the vigorous measures he adopted when, in less than three weeks, he succeeded in opposing an army of 60,000 men against the English, who had just disembarked in the island of Walcheren. This zeal and success earned for him the title of Comte d'Hunebourg in 1808 and that of Duke of Feltre in 1809. With the downfall of Naopoleon he ceased to function as War Minister in April 1814, but with the " Hundred Days " was recalled in March 1815. Afterwards he gave his loyalty to Louis

XVIII and became War Minister for the third time in September 1815. Early under the restored Bourbon regime he resigned his portfolio and retired to his country estate at Neuville (Bas-Rhin), where he died 28 October 1818.

Clarke was an astute diplomatist, but was never very scrupulous (it has been said) on points of honour or conventionality; his character has been severely criticised by French historians. They state that he saw Napoleon's star rising and knelt down and worshipped it. Some of his Irish compatriots, who were acquainted with him, are not enthusiastic regarding his virtues. Wolfe Tone alternately praises and dispraises him, while Miles Byrne charges him with expelling from France a number of officers of the Irish Legion after the return of the Bourbons, " because they had remained faithful to the very Napoleonic Eagles of which Clarke was supposed to be such a champion."[1]

CLARKE, THOBIE (THEOBALD), merchant and shipowner. A native of Kilkenny. Son of James Clarke and Annie Shiel, both of whose families were leading members of the Irish colony at Nantes in the eighteenth century. He was a kinsman of Henry Clarke, Duke of Feltre, who presented a considerable collection of pictures to Nantes—*rue de Feltre*, beside the art gallery there, was so named in recognition of the generous gift. On 10 February 1715 Thobie Clarke married at Nantes Marie O'Riordan, daughter of Robert O'Riordan, an Irish merchant, and in January 1750 their daughter Anastase married Thomas Montaudin, Seigneur de la Bonnetière, a captain of dragoons. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century half of the ships engaged in the lucrative slave trade at Nantes belonged to the Montaudin family, while most of the remainder was in the hands of the Walshes, Clarkes and Shiels who had migrated there from Ireland. From the frequent marriages between these and native families like the Montaudins an aristocratic bourgeoisie sprang up in the great French port. Thobie Clarke amassed a large fortune from a successful business and died in his eightieth year on 16 November 1759.

CLARY (CLEARY), DESIREE, queen of Sweden. Born in 1781, she was a daughter of Francis Clary, an Irish merchant of Marseilles. In that city, at the height of the reign of terror in 1794, the Clary family became acquainted with Joseph Bonaparte and his younger brother Napoleon. The latter fell in love with Desirée Clary, while Joseph became engaged to and married her sister Julie. Napoleon remained the fiancé of Desirée for more than a year until, discouraged by the opposition of her family, he had met and was fascinated by Josephine de Beauharnais, whom he

[1] The ducal title became extinct with the death of Clarke's son, but was restored in 1864 by imperial decree (Napoleon III) in favour of his great-great grandson, Charles de Goyon. The present (4th) duke is Auguste de Goyon.

eventually married. In 1798 Desirée, after being courted by many suitors, married General Bernadotte, Napoleon's great rival for military supremacy. In the later clash between the two, Napoleon declared that only his old affection for Desirée prevented him, more than once, from having Bernadotte shot. All his life Napoleon retained a tender affection for her, and Montholon at Saint Helena wrote that she was the great soldier's first love. By reason of her sister's marriage with Joseph Bonaparte, she was regarded as one of the Imperial family and she remained in Paris for many years after Bernadotte's accession to the throne of Sweden. It was not till 1829 that she was actually crowned queen of the country. Her married life with Bernadotte was singularly happy, due largely to the splendid qualities that marked her character. She has been described as a simple, retiring, unpretentious woman, who " preferred the twilight of a private circle to the garish pomp of regal state and ceremony." With an entire absence of pretence and affectation, she remained simple and unspoiled to the end of her life. When she became Queen of Sweden, a Protestant state, she did not, like her husband, abandon her religion, and Mass was celebrated regularly in the royal palace till her death in 1860. She survived her husband by many years and lived to see her son and grandson (Oscar I and Charles XV) kings of Sweden. Since her day the Bernadotte dynasty has become united by close family ties with the royal houses of England and other countries.

RICHARD HAYES

(To be continued)

MERRION RECLAMATION AND DUBLIN TOWN PLAN

BY DESMOND McATEER

Consulting Engineer

IN *Studies* for March 1935 a suggestion was put forward by the present writer for an airport for the City of Dublin, and in the introduction to the suggestion reference was made to the fact that the Minister for Local Government had made an Order, on 15 November 1934, bringing into force the Town and Regional Planning Act. Now in 1942 there has been published the *Sketch Development Plan* prepared by three Consultants—Professor Patrick Abercrombie, Mr. Sydney A. Kelly and Mr. Manning Robertson—for the City of Dublin. The report of these Consultants was first furnished in July 1939, and their supplementary report is dated October 1940. An appendix to the *Sketch Development Plan* states that the report of the Consultants and the covering report of the Town Planning Committee of the Corporation were considered at a special meeting of the General Purposes Committee of the Corporation on 10 December 1940, and the report of the Consultants was adopted subject to the amendments embodied in the report of the Town Planning Committee and subject also to four additional recommendations made by the General Purposes Committee. Two of these recommendations affect the proposed reclamation at Merrion. Recommendation (*b*) was " the provision of bathing facilities on a larger scale than contemplated in the report considered," and (*d*) " the possibility of increasing the extent of the reclamation proposed at Merrion to be considered." It is evident that the question of reclamation at Merrion has been given a good deal of consideration, both by the Consultants and the special and general bodies of the Corporation.

The *Sketch Development Plan* deals with the two proposed reclamations in Section 7. The reclamations are planned at Merrion Strand and at Fairview Park. As the first proposal is similar in some respects to the reclamation suggested for the airport in 1935, it is interesting to draw comparisons and to suggest future possibilities and ways and means. For simplicity of comparison a table is given setting out some figures about the two proposals.

The table rather emphasises the differences, so the points of agreement between the schemes should be noted. The first agreement is that there should be a large reclamation scheme at Merrion. In their report the Consultants put forward two reclamations, one at Merrion and one at Fairview, but they state that the reclamation at Merrion is by far the

more important. At the date of the original article on the suggested airport, there were many proposed schemes for reclamations and enclosures

	Town Plan 1942	*Airport Scheme* 1935
Length of wall	11,100 feet	15,000 feet
Cost per foot	£25	£10
Cost of wall	£277,000	£150,000
Area enclosed	780 acres	1,400 acres
Cost of wall per acre	£355	£107
Cost of filling	—	£900,000
Total cost	—	£1,500,000

on the north side of the Bay, and it was implicit in the article that the writer considered a reclamation at Merrion more important and, incidentally, more practicable than one on the north side. The next point of agreement is that the scheme should be carried out by means of a wall to be constructed along the sea-side of the proposed reclamation and the interior to be then reclaimed by filling. There are other possible ways of reclamation, but the outer sea-wall and fill method seems best suited to the needs of Dublin. The third point of agreement is that the sea-wall should carry a road for main traffic and connect up with the centre of the city. In their plan dealing with the matter, the Town Planning Consultants show the proposed road along the wall as one of the principal roads from the city. The fourth point of agreement is that a feature of the scheme would be the provision of bathing facilities along the wall. The agreement is considerable both in proposal and in method of execution, which fact might not at first seem clear from a comparison of the schemes given in the above table.

The 1942 Town Plan Scheme envisages a wall 11,100 feet long from a point 800 yards east of the Pigeon House Electricity Works to Merrion, costing about £277,000 and enclosing 780 acres. The airport scheme of 1935 suggested a wall 15,000 feet long, costing £150,000 and enclosing 1400 acres. Although a possible criticism of the latter scheme when suggested in 1935 was the high proposed cost; it now seems quite good value when compared with the 1942 Town Plan. This naturally raises the question of the accuracy of the estimate.

It was stated, in the original article on the airport, that the cost of the fill had been based on tenders received for such work on the east coast of Ireland in 1934, and the cost of the wall was in fact similarly based. At the time the article was being written, a scheme of reclamation was being carried out for an airport at Sydenham in Belfast, and reasonably

full particulars of that scheme were available. The method used in Belfast for constructing the wall or embankment around the proposed reclamation was by means of tipping earth from trucks from a light railway laid on top of the wall. A very considerable amount of manual labour was used, and the cost was not unduly high. The method, however, was considered rather primitive by a large Dutch firm of reclamation contractors with whom the proposed Merrion reclamation was discussed in 1935. They considered the allowance of £150,000 for completing the enclosure ample at that time. It is, of course, rather useless to discuss construction costs in terms of the pound sterling, or of any other monetary unit for that matter, at the present time; all that any present-day figures can do is to define the "magnitude" of the cost, using the word "magnitude" in the astronomical sense. That is not to suggest that any of the proposed costs of the Merrion scheme are astronomical, because in fact they are not. Another matter which affects considerably the cost of the wall is whether one includes in the walling cost the cost of the road-making and other furnishing on top of the wall, or whether the road-making cost is provided for in another part of the total reclamation estimate. The original 1935 suggestion did not include the cost of road-making in the £150,000, and if the cost of the road on the wall happens to be included in the figures of the Town Planning Consultants, then the estimates can in fact be regarded as reasonably close.

To make a further comparison, the length of wall in the 1935 proposal can be priced at the 1942 rate of £25 per foot and the total divided by the area enclosed, that is 1400 acres, and it will be found that the cost of walling per acre comes out at £268, which is less than the cost of wall per acre as given in the 1942 Town Plan, showing that the inclusion of a larger area than that suggested by the Consultants gives a more economical proposition. This reasoning seems to justify the General Purposes Committee of the Corporation in their recommendation that the possibility of increasing the extent of the reclamation proposed at Merrion should be considered.

The other recommendation made by the General Purposes Committee recommends the provision of bathing facilities on a larger scale than contemplated in the *Sketch Development Plan*. In Section 6 the Consultants deal with health and recreation and under this head devote a paragraph to bathing. They do not mention ordinary beach-bathing in the paragraph, and concentrate only on the establishment of "bathing establishments." Opinion as to whether these are the most desirable form of bathing facility seems to be divided, but the great majority seem to prefer beach-bathing. No accurate investigation seems to be made into the figures; but very roughly it appears that, under favourable weather conditions and with pre-war transport, the total of beach-bathers from Portmarnock to Killiney on a really good summer's day would number tens of thousands, while

the total number using the existing bathing establishments would not exceed a few hundred. It seems from the recommendation that the members of the Corporation attach more importance than do the Consultants to the question of sea-bathing. Probably this opinion of the Corporation comes from their knowledge of welfare work generally and the work of certain voluntary associations in providing facilities for visits to the seaside for children.

Very little study is required to prove the case for providing as much sea and sun as possible for city dwellers. Recently the published work of Dr. A. G. G. Leonard and his fellow workers has disclosed the fact that it is not merely in the slum areas of Dublin that the atmosphere is so bad. The atmosphere over Merrion Square has been tried and convicted as being almost intolerable. Dr. Leonard's researches also show the dreadful relation between the pollution of the atmosphere and the death rate. Some years ago a public health research in the town of Akron, Ohio, gave similar results, and further researches seem to indicate that the healthful and invigorating properties of " fresh air " depended on the free ionic content of the atmosphere. The number of free ions were rapidly raised by the action of unimpeded sunlight and very much decreased in the absence of sunlight. The ion count rapidly decreased in rooms occupied by many people, so that there could be quite a large local variation of the " fresh " characteristic of air. The regeneration of the air by the action of sunlight was also studied. These results only accord with the general experience of humanity, but for some reason official bodies seem loath to act on experience which cannot be reduced to figures. We must rely on Dr. Leonard and workers like him to produce the necessary figures.

Apart from the question of beach-bathing, another main proposal of the Town Planning Consultants for health-giving facilities is the provision of metropolitan parks and local parks. The reclamation scheme at Merrion as proposed by the Consultants has for its purpose the provision of a large park in the south east. The other two large parks are the existing Phoenix Park and a proposed one at St. Anne's on the north east of the city. If the area at Merrion were increased from the 780 acres proposed by the Consultants to the 1400 acres proposed in the 1935 scheme, there would be ample room for a large park and sporting facilities—and also for quite a large housing scheme, which would help to defray the initial cost.

A comparison of the plans illustrating the two schemes shows that both include a major road running from the centre of the city along the shore of the proposed reclamation and connecting with main thoroughfares to the south. This is a main feature of the scheme. As the proposed road would be practically level it is easy to-day to visualise what a boon it would be for cyclist bathers, who would be enabled to reach a first-class bathing-beach in twenty minutes from the city. The idea of the bathing-

beach raises two technical questions with regard to the proposed reclamation. One is, would the natural movement of the streams and tides be such as to deposit sand along the wall and thus form a nice beach; and secondly, would the presence of an extra large area of land in the south side of the Bay adversely affect tidal conditions or depths in Dublin Bay or its approaches? From all the information about tidal currents and conditions in Dublin Bay available in 1935, the Dutch reclamation experts were of the opinion that sand would be deposited all along the proposed wall and that the present process of filling up (which is going on quite rapidly on Merrion Strand) would continue, so that a stable beach would be formed outside the wall. An examination into the second question was commenced by the Dublin Port and Docks Board some years ago, and as far as anything has been made public about the result of the investigations, it would appear that the Dublin Port and Docks Board does not fear any detrimental consequences from the reclamation of the area. Actually the scheme might be of considerable benefit to the Harbour if it were carried out in conjunction with capital dredging.

In Section 7 of the *Sketch Development Plan*, the Town Planning Consultants suggest pumping dredged material over the Pigeon House wall into the area to be reclaimed. This can of course be done and gives the possibility of considerable cheap capital dredging in the main channel of the River Liffey and also in the Alexandra Basin and its extension. Several pipe lines could be laid over the wall both for direct pumping and for the discharge of dredgers. These pipe lines could be extended to various lengths so as to concentrate the fill at different points of the proposed reclamation. The presence of such a convenient ground for spoil from dredging should lower considerably the dredging costs to the Port. It is not perhaps in the Alexandra Basin and the neighbourhood that the major improvements could be effected with regard to dredging. Roughly, the conditions with regard to depth in the Port of Dublin are that ships drawing well over 30 feet can be accommodated at all stages of the tide in Alexandra Basin, but such vessels must wait for high tide to cross the Bar some two miles out from the Harbour.

The maximum draught for safe entry to the Port, even under the most favourable circumstances at high tide, scarcely exceeds 30 feet; therefore to avail of the depths provided at the Quay, it would be necessary to deepen the approaches somewhat. The main method used hitherto for deepening outside the Harbour has been by directed scour, but just beyond the area affected by the scour there exists an area on which considerable capital dredging could be done with good effect. From this area also one or more pipe lines could be laid to the proposed reclamation at Merrion. Dredging could be in succession from various points at the outer end, and the spoil pumped inside the proposed new wall. Having regard to the question of cost, if the average cost to the Port of dredging were applied to the material proposed to be removed from the existing

Bar and credited to the reclamation scheme, this would reduce the cost of the fill very considerably. It might not be out of place to suggest that, in figures, £500,000 would be a suitable amount to allocate towards the capital dredging of the Bar. These details, however, are a matter for the Dublin Port and Docks Board, and both the Town Planning Consultants and the Town Planning Committee have stated this in the published Report.

It might be extremely important to the Port of Dublin to have facilities for handling large vessels in the immediate post-war period. The lessons being learned at present will result in a larger amount of foreign trade being handled by Dublin Port, and if it were possible to provide the facilities in advance, then the trading situation provides a justification. Consideration of this matter brings forward one statement in the Town Planning Report which does not seem to be justified. The Consultants state, under Section 7, that the reclamation proposals are put forward " as extensions to be put in hand at some future date." As the scheme of a reclamation at Merrion is an important part of the improvements to be carried out in the City of Dublin, why should not a start be made now? The only reference to be cleared up before the order to construct is given is the one to the Dublin Port and Docks Board about the effect of the proposed reclamation on the navigation conditions of the Harbour. It has been pointed out above how the filling of the proposed reclaimed area can be made of benefit by doing capital dredging on the Bar, and as the area to be deprived of water by the reclamation is not inside the wall-bounded area which contains the tidal water used for scour, it is extremely probable that the Port and Docks Board would give the all clear to the scheme. And as the first part of the scheme to be constructed is the sea-wall and as this would make immediately available the sea-bathing beach and the foundation for the road on top, the new beach could be available for Dubliners within a comparatively short time.

The scheme could be proceeded with physically without the importation of any elaborate plant from abroad, and in winter time a certain amount of electrical energy might be provided for running the necessary pumps. In summer time a start, in the construction of the enclosing wall, might be made on the tip-and-fill principle used at Sydenham in Belfast and elsewhere. It is suggested that this work of building the wall for the Merrion reclamation would be a more suitable part of the Town Plan to be undertaken at once rather than the provision of walks along the Dodder, however desirable these may be. It is probable that the Merrion reclamation scheme would be able to utilise much more labour than the Dodder proposal, although of course there is no objection to the two works going ahead without delay. A certain amount of intercepting channel and sewer work would need to be carried out along the sea front at Sandymount; but luckily, due to the manufacture of cement at home, the materials for most of this work are available; and if the amount of cast-iron work

needed were cut down to a minimum, it is possible that our existing foundries could provide all the cast-iron equipment necessary. The present state of the Building and Engineering industries, especially in Dublin, renders the provision of works of this kind doubly important, and the present moment rather than after the war might be a better one for approaching the Government with a view to getting a substantial contribution towards the cost of the work.

The question of doubt about the possible cost should not be allowed to hold up the work, and in any event this question could possibly be resolved by availing of the experience of the Belfast Corporation. Their Sydenham scheme is, of course, smaller than either of the schemes proposed for Merrion and, on the basis of the cost of walling per acre, was probably not as economical even if the lower figure of £10 per foot be applied to the walls or embankments constructed at the Sydenham airport. The airport covers about 300 acres, and the length along the original shore is about 4,300 feet. The periphery, not including the shore length, is just over 10,000 feet; but the method of construction adopted was not by means of a single wall around the outside of the proposed area. Other intermediate walls were constructed, giving a total length of wall of over 15,000 feet. In addition to the reclaimed area of the airport, there is the older partially reclaimed area devoted to Victoria Park just immediately on the city side of the aerodrome.

The Belfast precedent for reclamation in an area like Merrion should be of use in turning public and official opinion in favour of proceeding with the Merrion scheme. It is quite definitely possible to proceed even at the present time, and as the scheme has the full approval of the Corporation and would provide badly needed work, construction ought to be started as soon as possible.

DESMOND MCATEER

REVIEWS

Economics and Politics

PLAN FOR AFRICA. By Rita Hinden, Ph.D. London: Allen and Unwin. 1941. 7s. 6d.

This study of social and economic conditions in Colonial Africa, written by Dr. Hinden, is sponsored by the Fabian Society. Written in a sympathetic vein, the work is meant to rouse the conscience of the British to a sense of duty with regard to the native populations placed under their trusteeship. The author's exposition of the state of affairs is based on reports of officials, on surveys, and on the findings of various commissions. She draws a sombre picture of the miseries to which the African tribes have become a prey through their being dragged into the orbit of European industrial life.

For her study of African conditions Dr. Hinden takes two colonies, Northern Rhodesia and the Gold Coast, the former as being the most backward, the latter as being the most progressive of the territories in Africa under British tutelage. One is rather poor in natural resources; the other is extremely rich in mineral wealth. Yet both, on the author's showing, reveal a native population in the same sorry plight—suffering from ill health, malnutrition, illiteracy, poor transport facilities and totally inadequate social services. Little has been done by the Colonial Administration to provide the natives with a water supply for household purposes and for the irrigation of the land. In Rhodesia the disabilities of the natives spring in great part from the pre-occupation of the government to secure an economic existence for the 13,000 European settlers in the country. The latter, though they form only one-hundredth part of the population, yet control almost one-seventh of the allocated lands. The natives are crowded into reserves of an acreage that is but a small proportion of the total acreage of the whole country. The effect of " reserves " is everywhere the same. It means the impoverishment of the native, debarring him from the traditional way of procuring a subsistence for himself and his family. That way of life demands the opportunity to control lands several times larger in area than what is tilled or pastured for the needs of one year. The shrinkage of the lands available makes this system of farming and livelihood impossible. The natives have to migrate from their homes to centres of industry and exchange the life of a subsistence-farmer for that of a wage-slave.

The distress caused by impoverishment in N. Rhodesia is, by a strange paradox, produced in the Gold Coast by the influx of wealth. In the last forty years the cocoa industry has developed there with extraordinary rapidity. In 1902 the export was a little less than 5,000 tons; by 1936 it had risen to the enormous figure of 256,033 tons, and fetched from 9 to 10 million pounds annually. The yield in Nigeria was about one-fourth of that of the Gold Coast. The two colonies between them controlled half of the cocoa exports of the world. And what was more important, the cocoa was produced and owned by native peasants, tilling farms ranging in size from one to five acres. At the same time the mineral resources of the country were actively exploited. Gold, diamonds and manganese ore yielded exports to the value of over five million pounds. Dr. Hinden, in her analysis, points out that only a fraction of the wealth yielded by the copper mines in N. Rhodesia and by the gold, diamond and manganese mines in the Gold Coast returns to the natives. This return is mainly in wages to the labourers and in small concessional rents to the chiefs. In spite of all this wealth the plight of the natives in the Gold Coast is as bad as that of the native of N. Rhodesia. The standard of living in both places has been lowered rather than raised by contact with European trading.

The causes of the miserable conditions that, during the past forty years, have developed in Central Africa are manifold. They can be reduced to three, closely interrelated: namely, the gradual disintegration of the tribal system, the disturbance

of the native economy, and the erosion of the land. *Plan for Africa* offers a vivid, penetrating and accurate analysis of these three operative factors in the economic ruin of the African native. It is a saddening review.

Through the appeal of cultivating for profit in the Gold Coast and through the lure of wages offered in the mining districts of both the Gold Coast and N. Rhodesia, the natives in considerable numbers have been drawn from the subsistence-farming traditional with them. This exchange does not better their lot. By a tendency fatal in the profit-seeking mode of life, money has brought entanglements, debts and discontent. The increase of money develops an increase of needs: as a rule, for all but the few who pocket the large profits, the money never suffices to satisfy the needs. In Africa has grown an uprooted and bewildered proletariate. The lot of the debt-saddled cocoa farmer is not much better than that of the landless wage-earner.

Farming for profit has disrupted the whole tribal economy. Land has become of commercial value. It is alienated by the chiefs for cash. Strangers come to own the tribal lands. The tribesmen themselves leave their own surroundings either to invest in profit-yielding lands elsewhere or simply because the narrowing of their holdings deprives them of adequate means of subsistence. The authority of the chiefs is being gradually weakened, and the ties of home and land are severed. Cut adrift from his own native way of life, the African tosses about without chart or compass in an unknown sea of experience. Cash-cropping has brought about poverty in still another way. This land is being rapidly cleared of high forest in the interest of the new 'get-rich-quick' economy. The soil is tilled and not fertilised. Unprotected by trees and exposed to fierce winds and rain, soil erosion is taking place rapidly. Disafforestation is increasing the desert area of Africa.

On the principle that local revenues must bear the burden of social services, the administration has been able to do but little for the material amelioration of the life of the natives. This principle was upheld until the year 1940. The revenue yielded in N. Rhodesia was miserably small and, in spite of the riches that flowed from the copper mines, little advantage accrued to the natives. Their great need is an adequate water supply—with, of course, medical and educational facilities: the funds available did not permit of any adequate response to these requirements. The revenue returns in the Gold Coast were of imposing dimensions, but ill-advised schemes of development left the disabilities of the vast majority of the population unattended to. This is the picture of Native Africa presented in *Plan for Africa*.

It is accurate with the accuracy that belongs to a painstaking study of reports and statistics. Yet in spite of its accuracy the reader will form in his mind an impression of widespread misery which would not be confirmed by an actual contact with native life. The author confesses that African welfare or African distress is determined by African 'economics.' This is an abstract treatment of the whole life conditions in Central Africa and, by its necessary intensification of one feature, presents a distorted image of the reality. The book reads too much like a thesis and has all the undue emphasis of a thesis. The reader could form to himself a far more accurate notion of what are the actual native conditions of life after forty years of European trusteeship, if over against the 'economic' disabilities of the native were set the indisputable amelioration that, during that time, has taken place in his circumstances. Life has become secure. The savagery of native customs has been stamped out to a large extent. Inter-tribal warfare, raiding and massacre have been put to an end. The paralysing effects of gross superstition have been dissipated.

From the writings of humanitarians one could easily derive the impression that, prior to European 'exploitation,' the African native lived an unspoiled, free, healthy, joyous life of primitive simplicity in his magnificent forests. His life was

anything but that. Those forests reeked with evil. These mists of evil have been dispelled, and in matters of hygiene, health, and education the African is not worse off than before—to some extent his lot in those respects has improved.

Again it is a mistake to apply European standards of well-being and European standards of wages to Tropical Africa. If the native can provide himself adequately, on one shilling a day, with what he reasonably needs, he is as well paid as the European who receives ten times as much but whose needs are ten times as great. The climate of Africa reduces the native costs of living to very modest proportions. High wages have been no advantage to him. They have only created desires for exotic luxuries, such as have come to be a need for the European, but do not respond to any natural requirements of native life in Tropical Africa. In the interests of trade the peasants are enticed to purchase all those mechanical contrivances that modern industry throws on the market. The liberal writers sympathetic with the natives envisage their good as being dependent on the acquisition of the material amenities with which European life is supplied—clothing, foodstuffs, household utensils, vehicles, radio sets and the rest.

All these things have come to Europe as a result of centuries of development. The minds that have created them have had a gradual adjustment to their use. But it is as sane to endow the natives with these 'amenities' as to decorate a noble Masai warrior with a tall silk hat. European conditions of life cannot be given to the Africans by emptying on their compounds the contents of the drapery and the hardware stores of Manchester. At Calabar, Lagoa and Achimota on any Sunday native women may be seen hobbling to church, awkward and ungainly in high-heeled shoes and incongruously decked out with expensive hats and frocks from Manchester. They present a sorry contrast to their barefooted sisters moving with smooth grace, their bodies wrapped in folds of native cloth and wearing gaily coloured scarves on their heads. In the native setting this simple garb is much more becoming and much more comfortable than the dresses imported from England, besides costing much less. This parellel could be extended to all the ordinary requirements of human life. An African living in a decent African fashion can live quite well and yet inexpensively. In dealing with the economic situation it is not stressed enough that the standards of living are very relative. Simple and elemental things are to the native what expensive and luxurious things are to the European.

There is no doubt that the salvation of Africa lies in a reversion to the traditional economy—in so far as that is feasible—and in a prudent improvement of the native methods of cultivation. The soil is capable of bearing a greater variety of crops than the natives actually sow. The farmer should be taught to enlarge the range of products for home consumption. Industry has come to stay. The hands of the clock cannot be put back. European enterprise and capital have opened up the mineral resources of the country. These would have remained sealed up for the natives had not the white men come. It is reasonable that the white men should have the large share in the fruits. It would be a blessing if the purely profit-bearing enterprises were left entirely in their hands and heavy taxes imposed on them by the Government. These taxes then should be spent in improving the social services for the natives in the setting of their own tribal life. But at any rate steps should be taken to prevent industrial progress from destroying the native economy.

All these reports and findings of commissions invariably fail to point out the sure path to African welfare. That path is the one taken by the Christian Missionary. His way is to take the native way as it is and, preserving the good in it, gradually to refine and perfect it from within by permeating all its aspects with the Christian ideal. There is no short cut to advanced culture. The culture of the sophisticated native of the Gold Coast is unreal. It rests on a foundation in no way adapted to it; its fruit is pride, extravagance and an insolent independence.

In conclusion it might be remarked that Dr. Hinden would have given a fairer presentation of the results of colonial administration in Africa by taking for her study, not the extreme situations found in the Gold Coast and N. Rhodesia, but the more normal conditions of Nigeria. Nigeria is a more important and promising colony than any other in Africa. It has a dense population. It has suffered like the others from European trading. But on the whole the natives live there in comparative ease and comfort. And under the aegis of the administration, missionary enterprise is working successfully at the creation of true culture based on the native way of life. The success of the missionaries is due, in considerable measure, to the favourable conditions created by the wise exercise of government trusteeship.

E. LEEN

SURVEY OF BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS. Vol. II Problems of Economic Policy 1918-1939. Part II. By W. K. Hancock. Oxford University Press. 1942. 16s.

THE first part of the second volume of Professor Hancock's massive Survey was devoted to the economic problems of Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand (see *Studies*, Dec. 1940, p. 623). The second part deals with South Africa and West Africa. It is impossible to describe the wealth of material that the author has gathered in his net. The student of anthropology will find much to interest him in the description of the manners and customs of primitive peoples. But the emphasis of the study is economic—or rather politico-economic. " We start from economics but move steadily towards politics. We work with patient concentration through the economic material but constantly seek in that material the answer to political questions." The claims and counterclaims of the upholders and accusers of British imperialism are impartially discussed in the light of masses of historical and statistical information. Is British colonial rule a " sacred trust " performed for the benefit of immature people or is it, as the Marxists affirm, naked exploitation of the weak by the strong? What principles govern the development of the multi-racial society of South Africa? Are present tendencies leading towards " equal rights for diverse communities " or towards a society of racial castes? These are some of the questions which Professor Hancock attempts to answer.

Professor Hancock combines, in an altogether unusual degree, the capacity to collect facts and to deduce conclusions from them. The problems of South Africa are utilized to throw further light upon the larger problem which has formed the central theme of the whole Survey—namely, how a far flung empire can preserve its position in the world. The first volume opened with a quotation from Sir Eyre Crowe's famous memorandum to the effect that " a maritime empire can exercise such formidable power that it is bound to provoke against it a coalition of the world unless it succeeds in harmonizing its own special interests with those of other nations." This harmonization was secured, in the nineteenth century, by free trade and the policy of " the open door." Professor Hancock, in the first part of this volume, condemned the Ottawa Agreements and the policy which they reflected as a retrograde step. This opinion is confirmed and reinforced by a study of the effect of the Agreements on colonial trade and on international goodwill. The publication, however, of the " Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare " by the British Government in 1940 may, if promise is followed by performance, mark the beginning of a reversion to sounder views on Colonial policy. The improvement of the poorer parts of the Empire by the help of the richer parts may develop into a policy of public works conceived, not on a national but on an international scale, which may succeed in reducing poverty in the colonies and unemployment in the industrialized dominions.

G. O'B.

MASTERS OF POLITICAL THOUGHT. Edited by Edward McChesney Sait. Volume One: Plato to Machiavelli. By Michael B. Foster. London: Harrap. 1942. 10s. 6d. net.

THERE have been many histories of political theory, and most of them have been interesting, for the subject is one of very great interest. It is safe to say that the book here under review will in future take rank among the best and most readable of its kind. Designed as the first of three volumes, under the general editorship of an American scholar, it is the work of a young Oxford tutor who has already made his reputation by a study of Plato's political thought. Whereas most of its predecessors have been simply accounts at second-hand of what leading political philosophers have taught or said, its chief excellence lies in the fact that it presents their doctrines by way of a careful and judicious selection from their own works, prefaced by a short account of their lives and an estimate of their place in history. In this fashion it deals simply and clearly with the teaching of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Machiavelli. The translation used in each case is one recognised as standard: Jowett for Plato and Aristotle, the work of the Dominican Fathers for St. Thomas, Detmold and N. H. Thomson for Machiavelli's *Discourses* and *Prince*.

The presentation of selected extracts from famous authors in a kind of anthology or "source-book" is of course a well-tried method of teaching in particular subjects and a useful supplement to the familiar text-book. This work succeeds to a quite remarkable degree in combining the best qualities of both. The extracts are interspersed with a most lucid and valuable running commentary by Dr. Foster, distinguished from them only by indentation and by a type-ornament at the head of each page of quotation. This commentary does at least some of the work which should be done by the living teacher: it emphasises the salient points, picks out and elucidates difficulties, and shows where further reading is advisable. Two ends are thus admirably served: the book is easily adapted for private study, and it is very far from suggesting that the student who has read it need read no more. On the contrary, it is calculated to arouse in all who have any degree of interest in political thought that curiosity which the Greeks believed to be the origin of wisdom.

Dr. Foster emphasises at once in his introduction both the exact nature of his subject and its very great actuality. Politics, he points out, is only an art in a limited sense, in that its material—the historical situation in which the politician has to act—is always unique. Both the idea that political theory is a body of science for the instruction of statesmen and the Marxian doctrine which makes it the product of economic forces are condemned as exaggerations. The real value of political theory lies in the fact that it is a most important element in a unique tradition, the tradition of Western civilisation, with its roots in Greece, Rome, and Christianity. Civilised man is the product and the possessor of this tradition, which is part of his most intimate being even though he knows no Greek and has never heard of Cicero. All this implies the repudiation of the notion, so common nowadays, that new institutions or new techniques in science, psychology, or government, can build a new world without any regard for the past of the particular society to which they are applied.

Such is the sound foundation upon which Dr. Foster sets his work, and his selection of extracts is designed to indicate, within the limits at his disposal, how the tradition has been built up. Keeping in view at all points the problems that most exercise our own world, he shows us Plato wrestling already with theories similar to those of Marx, Aristotle elaborating the distinction between theory and practice, Cicero formulating the doctrine of natural law, Augustine teaching that Justice is

above the State, Aquinas perfecting Aristotle's "nature" by setting above it the realm of grace, and Machiavelli once more making the State the ultimate end, repudiating natural law, and foreshadowing the sovereign nation. There are of course many points at which Dr. Foster's exposition may well give rise to debate. It is for instance questionable whether Aristotle's theory of the contemplative life is really so much in contradiction with his political doctrine as is implied in this book, or whether Aristotle by that theory makes the highest good reside in a non-social activity. But such possibilities of disagreement only enhance the value of a stimulating book, full of practical value for the present time. M. T.

HISTORY

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. Edward VI, 1547-1553. By Abbé G. Constant. Translated by E. I. Watkin. London: Sheed and Ward. 1941. 16s.

ROME AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. By Philip Hughes. London: Burns Oates. 1942. 18s.

THE Abbé Constant acquired an immense reputation ten years ago by the publication of the first section of his *Reformation in England*: a volume that was translated into English in 1934 by Rev. R. E. Scantlebury. Mr. Belloc's preface marked the volume as an important stage in the slow process of recovery from the long dominance of Protestant myth and Catholic counter-myth. Here was history—impartial, readable and clearly planned: an adequate and satisfying summary of all that had been brought to light by scholars from both sides of the controversial battlefield. The second and last volume of Abbé Constant's work has now been published by Messrs. Sheed and Ward under difficult circumstances. Bombs and fire have added their destructive power to other forces that made for delay in publication; and the volume appears at last without its Index—a minor war-casualty that the reader will forgive in gratitude for what is given. It is true that the subject of this volume is far less complicated and less controversial than the subject of Abbé Constant's first volume. Protestantism of the continental Calvinistic type came into the open under Edward VI, and there can be no two opinions as to the purpose of reformers such as Cranmer or Somerset. But the author shows here the same gift for lucid and orderly composition; and a series of valuable Appendixes, including one on the validity of Anglican orders, discuss in detail some technical problems of theology and bibliography.

Father Philip Hughes has written a volume which, though far less readable, is definitely a more serious contribution to the history of this all-important era in English history. We have grown so accustomed to the modern type of English statesmanship, with its tendency to compromise and moderate reform, that we can easily forget the earlier stage of English political growth, when English reformers were as ruthless and as radical as any of their continental rivals. After all it was the people of England who first taught modern Europe that a King could be brought to the scaffold. And men like Thomas Cromwell, Cranmer and William Cecil had nothing to learn in the craftsmanship of revolution. Father Hughes has shown great power of reconstruction in his summary of what the Protestant party set out out to achieve under Henry VIII and Edward VI; how, with Cecil as their guiding spirit, they out-manœuvred the Marian government; and finally with what great skill Cecil and his agents exploited the weakness of the defeated Catholic majority, and ended by turning all English national sentiment into a channel of anti-papal and anti-Spanish patriotic fervour, down which, even to-day, flows the main stream of English popular opinion.

But Father Hughes is more directly concerned with the Catholic reaction to this most efficiently directed revolution. His purpose is to study the methods of sixteenth-century Catholic Action in England and among the English Catholic exiles on the continent. Not every one will agree with all his judgments. But here is a book which must command attention: solid, learned, full of valuable historical material, and surprisingly original in its approach to a familiar problem. We have read and heard almost all that is to be said or written about the heroes and villains, saints and sinners of Elizabethan England. Father Hughes asks us to stand aside for a time and consider what these men were trying to do, how far and why they succeeded or failed.

Four or five figures stand out against this background of a century of heroic, persistent Catholic Action: Cardinal Pole, Dr. William Allen, Father Robert Persons, Dr. William Bishop and Dr. Richard Smith. The names will not all be familiar to the reader, for there is here a new sense of proportion. Was it possible to restore the lost provinces of Canterbury and York to the unity of the Catholic Church? That is the central problem of this able book, and inevitably a large portion of its contents must be devoted to the vexed problem of the restoration or deliberate suspension of the Catholic episcopate in England. Here in fact is the most lasting achievement of Elizabethan government in the religious sphere. Not finally, but for a long and dreary period, episcopal government by English Catholic bishops was made impossible. "Vinea facta amara" is the title of the last chapter in this volume. Reading the tragic tale of petty jealousies and unending friction which did so much harm to English Catholic life in the seventeenth century, one is constantly reminded of the passionate and almost senseless feuds which have marked all exiled minorities in the political history of so many countries. To be deprived of the good governance of bishops is a tragic loss for any Catholic country. English Catholics learned that lesson in the bitter school of experience, and Father Hughes is not afraid to tell the tale in detail, passing judgments that are sometimes severe, though never intemperate.

The earlier sections of this book make more attractive reading—perhaps because more has been done here to clear the ground by research and the publication of materials for a sound judgment. The study here given of Cardinal Pole's conscientious and idealistic effort to restore Catholic life in England will be a revelation to many readers. That this most cultured and humane English prelate, who came so near to being Pope and who was so deeply imbued with the new spirit of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, should be so little known to the ordinary student shows how far we still are from a true sense of proportion in our judgments. Father Hughes is at his best, so I feel, in his study of this scholarly reformer—whose weaknesses he knows so well, but whose success in reviving the apostolic spirit among the English clergy is most justly emphasised. The study of Dr. William Allen, a more familiar figure and hardly less important in the development of English Catholic life, is also admirably done. The pages here devoted to an account of the workaday life of English Catholics in Douai, when Allen's scheme for the education of a new generation of seminary priests was being worked out for the first time, reads like the generous tribute of a grateful *alumnus* to some well-loved *alma mater*.

Father Persons is the only other figure who can be compared with William Allen as an active force in the organisation of this Catholic resistance. His English fellow-Jesuits—Campion, Walpole and Southwell, to name the most brilliant figures in the group—were, and still are, an inspiration to thousands. But Persons, like Allen, was a man of restless energy, and he was granted a far longer span of years than his martyred brethren in which to develop his plan of Catholic Action for the England of his day. The mere mention of his name is enough to recall almost all the most controversial aspects of English Catholic history, and Father Hughes

makes no effort to conceal his personal likes and dislikes. Jesuits come in for more than one shrewd knock in the course of this study, though they may also note with gratitude more than one generous tribute to their part in the revival of Catholic apostolic fervour.

It is impossible, at this present stage of our knowledge, to say whether Father Hughes is right or wrong, fair or unfair, in some of his criticisms. The truth is, as he himself remarks, that we know far less about English Catholic life in the seventeenth century than in the more spacious days of the Elizabethan persecution. There is to-day, at long last, reasonable prospect that a large mass of unpublished material about the activities of Father Persons and his Jesuit fellow-workers will see the light of day. When that work of publication has been completed, it will be possible to pass a considered judgment on some of the controversies which fill a good half of this substantial volume. Until that (perhaps distant) date it is wiser to suspend judgment; and I cannot but feel that Father Hughes would have written a more satisfying volume if he had ended his survey with the close of the Elizabethan era. But his story would then have been incomplete, and he may fairly reply that the main purpose of this book has been to set forth the reasons why the Catholic movement of reaction did, for so long a period, end in total failure. He has written a most learned and most stimulating book, for which he deserves the thanks of all serious students. A. G.

THE REGISTER OF TRISTERNAGH. Transcribed and edited by M. V. Clarke, M.A. (Irish MSS. Commission). Dublin: Stationery Office. 1941. 10s. 6d.

SOME years ago the late Miss Maud Clarke undertook the work of transcribing and editing the Register of Tristernagh, now in the Cathedral Library at Armagh, for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. She did not live to complete this work, and two of her pupils—Miss J. S. A. Macaulay and Miss K. M. E. Murray—have prepared this volume for publication. The transcript had been executed in full by Miss Clarke, though the text has again been collated with the original by Miss Macaulay. Miss Murray has edited, from Miss Clarke's full notes, the present excellent Introduction and has added dates, where possible, to the charters printed in this volume.

The Augustinian Priory of Tristernagh was founded by two Anglo-Normans in the last years of the twelfth century—the exact date can no longer be determined. Geoffrey de Costentin, whose family history is given here in full, belonged to a Lincolnshire family which came across to Ireland with Hugh de Lacy in or about 1177. They settled first in Leix and Offaly, but later were granted lands in Westmeath and Connacht. From the location of their holdings it is plain that they were not among the first-comers in the Norman plantation of Meath, but are to be grouped rather with such families as Tuite, Tyrel and Ledwych, who were also among the benefactors of Tristernagh priory. More important than any of these, save Geoffrey the actual founder, is Ralph Petit, the first Anglo-Norman archdeacon of Meath, who held that office from c. 1188 to 1224. He then seems to have resigned it on grounds of old age. Nevertheless after the death of Simon Rochfort, the first Anglo-Norman bishop of Meath (1224), Ralph Petit was prevailed on to accept the responsibilities of this important Irish see; he died as bishop of Meath in 1227. He and Geoffrey de Costentin are the two co-founders of Tristernagh priory. Three of the charters here printed, which Ralph witnesses as "former archdeacon of Meath," suggest that he had retired to spend his last years at Tristernagh. That plan was interrupted by his unexpected election as bishop of Meath.

Space does not permit me to discuss some of the very interesting problems

raised by these charters. The editors have done a great deal to clear up the history of the families who appear as the priory's benefactors, but they are less sure of their ground when they deal with problems of ecclesiastical history. Meath was one of the main centres of Anglo-Norman expansion at this period, and Simon Rochfort must rank as one of the chief architects of Anglo-Norman supremacy throughout the central plain of Ireland. One of the charters here printed belongs to the early period of his rule, when he still styled himself " bishop of Clonard " and had not yet (1202) transferred his cathedral church from Clonard (with its old Irish associations) to Trim, with its great Anglo-Norman castle. Another charter, which the editors have failed to date accurately, belongs to his last years, after the synod which he held at Trim in 1216. Simon Rochfort had meanwhile succeeded in suppressing the purely Irish diocese of Kells in the years 1212-16. At the synod of Trim he divided his enlarged diocese into five rural deaneries: Trim, Kells, Slane, Skreen and Dunshaughlin. This division suggests that Westmeath had not yet been organised as a rural deanery, and we may guess that the bishops of Ardagh and Clonmacnois had something to say in this direction. But Tristernagh lies in the heart of Westmeath, and the earliest charters in this register are granted by Simon as bishop of Meath. One of the later charters is witnessed by a dean of Mullingar. I hope to argue more fully elsewhere that this charter, and some other items of converging evidence, suggest a fresh expansion of Simon Rochfort's diocese in the last years of his long pontificate (1192-1224). But this same register also contains evidence that the first Anglo-Norman bishop of Ardagh—Robert, a former abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin—was successful, for a time at least, in claiming the present barony of Corkaree as part of his diocese.

These are minute details perhaps; but they throw light on an interesting moment in the great struggle between Irish and Anglo-Norman prelates which fills the history of the Irish Church during the thirteenth century. Tristernagh survived throughout the Middle Ages and was finally suppressed by Henry VIII in 1536. Its last prior, Edmund Nugent, became bishop of Kilmore with a pension after the dissolution. Five other canons of the priory took pensions, as well as livings in five of the churches that had been served from the priory. The rest of the land passed to the family of Piers or Pierce, who held it until the property was sold in the encumbered estates court in 1850. The ruins of the ancient priory were for a time included in the estate of the last representative of the Malone family (of which the great Shakespearian scholar was a member) in this area. That last link with ancient days has since been broken; and this fourteenth-century register, now edited and printed with proper respect for its historic value, is our main source for the history of a house that once was a centre of Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical traditions in the heart of Westmeath.

A. G.

Spanish Literature

A HISTORY OF THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN SPAIN. By E. Allison Peers. London: Cambridge University Press. 1940. 2 vols. 349 and 470 pp. 50s.

A COMPREHENSIVE and objective history of the romantic movement in Spain has been one of the outstanding needs of both teacher and student of Spanish literature. The work, however, is so vast and so confused with cross currents and influences that up to now no scholar had made a serious attempt to undertake the task. To fill this gap was the ideal of Professor Peers, and it must have required all his well-known enthusiasm, industry and patience to carry him over the twenty years spent in its preparation. That the author may not have succeeded to everyone's complete satisfaction does not lessen our admiration for his industry nor our gratitude for

the amount of valuable material he has collected and made available in these well-documented volumes.

The first volume gives an excellent survey of the antecedents of Spanish romanticism in the middle ages, renaissance, golden age and eighteenth century; the rest is occupied with a study of the romantic revival and revolt from 1800 to 1837. Volume II is the history of the decline of romanticism and the rise of eclecticism, followed by thirteen well-chosen appendices and some fifty pages of an unusually complete and useful index. Thus we see the method of treatment is straightforwardly chronological, undoubtedly the best in treating of this complicated movement. The big issues of the work centre round what the author considers to be the characteristics of Spanish romanticism (vol. II, chap. VII), his strong views on foreign as opposed to native influences (vol. I, chaps. II and III), and his convictions on the brevity of the romantic movement and the non-existence of its alleged triumph (vol. II, chap. IV).

In his illuminating seventy-page summing-up of the nature of Spanish romanticism Professor Peers places Freedom as the "first and foremost" of its primary characteristics—"the only single ideal which can be found beneath all the varied conceptions of romanticism" (vol. II, p. 261); next in importance come the three qualities of patriotism, christianity and mediaevalism; as secondary characteristics are subjectivity, sentimentality, lachrymosity, melancholy, pessimism, vagueness, formlessness, love of mystery and allied love of the fantastic and grotesque. This able and very well documented section must be considered incomplete without a study of the important matter of local colour. Surely the pervading presence of local colour in Angel de Saavedra's lengthy narrative poem *El Moro Exposito* or in his drama *Don Alvaro,* or in all the romantic novels and particularly in the *costumbristas,* deserves as detailed an examination in a work of this kind as many of the secondary characteristics already enumerated and so excellently studied by the author.

The treatment of native as opposed to foreign influences is somewhat unfortunate in stress. Anxious to disprove and discredit the already disproved and thoroughly discredited theory that Spanish romanticism was mainly a foreign introduction, Professor Peers unnecessarily belabours what could be assumed as well known and now generally admitted. In his enthusiasm for his theory he goes to the extreme of forcing himself to disregard the possibility of foreign influence where it is difficult to deny it. This enthusiasm engenders such dictatorial statements as (to quote from his section on the influence of Italy): "Besides Manzoni and Alfieri, Metastasio, Goldoni, Ugo Foscolo, Silvio Pellico and Tommaso Grossi were commonly read in Spain during the early years of the Romantic revival. The last three only could have had any effect upon that revival, and that effect could have been but slight. Some short passages from Pellico published in the Spanish press about 1835, together with several translations of *Le Mie Prigioni* and some minor works, amount to very little, and a single translation (1833) of Ugo Foscolo's *Ultime Lettere di Jacopo Ortis* to even less" (vol. I, p. 113). In a note on the same page are mentioned three different Spanish translations before 1840 and "several more after 1840" of one of Pellico's minor works, *I Doveri degli Uomini.* Why do these several translations of Pellico's works—apart altogether from his works in Italian, a language always widely known in Spain—"amount to very little"? Surely, in view of this admitted popularity of the Italian's writings in Spain, we are entitled to expect at least some semblance of proof before being asked to accept such a statement; instead we are not given an idea of the reasoning process which determined the author to decide that the conceded vogue of Pellico in Spain is of little account.

Again, among French authors who influenced the romantic revolt, it is difficult to accept without question the omission of Rousseau on the grounds that "the

ideas which his influence tended to revolutionize were social rather than literary" (vol. I, p. 232, note 3). Was Rousseau's "sensibility" not something foreign to Spanish literary tradition? And could it have had no influence on Spanish romantic literature, especially considering the extent of Rousseau's popularity in Spain as elsewhere stated by Professor Peers in such terms as: "Florian and Rousseau, whose vogue in Spain had begun before 1800 but became much more marked later" (vol. I, p. 31); "Rousseau entered Spain directly, as well as through Montengón, during the eighteenth century: there were two translations of him, at least, before 1800" (vol. I, p. 32); "Rousseau continued to enter Spain by various channels: one of these was Jesuit influence from Italy; another, Montengón's *Eusebio*; a third, Marchena, who, as we have seen, was imbued with Rousseauesque ideas. *Julie ou la Nouvelle Heloise* was published in translation six times in ten years (1814-1823); *Emile* appeared five (perhaps six) times between 1817 and 1822; and the *Contrat Social* was translated as early as 1799 and frequently thereafter" (vol. I, pp. 130-1). The omission of Rousseau from the list of French writers who may have influenced the romantic literary revolt requires more explanation than the arbitrary statement cited above.

Some will not agree with all Professor Peers has to say about the non-existence of the romantic triumph; certainly the return of the *emigrados* on the death of Ferdinand VII had not that dramatic effect that some other writers would have us believe, but that it was not without some small importance in giving tone and direction and a new vigour with external influences is another matter. The views expressed concerning the short life of the Spanish romantic movement in the nineteenth century and its rout by eclecticism are open to discussion. Could it not be argued at least as convincingly that eclecticism was nourished, developed and strengthened by that literary freedom won by romanticism, the "only single ideal which can be found beneath all the varied conceptions of romanticism," the "first and foremost" of its primary characteristics, and that nineteenth century Spanish literary eclecticism is just another title for romanticism in its supreme mood of freedom? Thus we should have a real romantic triumph.

To sum up briefly: Professor Peers has enriched the study of Spanish romanticism with a wealth of material and views on almost every author even remotely connected with the movement. But very reluctantly have I come to the conclusion that the author, who so often conscientiously cites passages which conflict with his own theories, often unconsciously fails to give them due weight. His views are stimulating, but not always convincing. His book is a work of immense value to the student of critical and independent mind who is well read in western European literature and its historical background. P. McB.

Theology

GOOD WORKS AND PREDESTINATION ACCORDING TO THOMAS OF STRASSBURG, O.S.A. A Dissertation by Joseph L. Shannon, O.S.A. Westminster (Maryland): Newman Book Shop. 1941. Pp. 144.

Father Shannon is to be congratulated on a happy conclusion to a work which has plainly cost him more than usual trouble. This dissertation was presented to the Gregorian University for the doctorate in the Faculty of Theology in 1940. It had been begun more than a year before the outbreak of the war, and the writer of this review has pleasant memories of an unexpected visit to Dublin in 1939 when Father Shannon appeared, more or less from the blue, with a folio volume of Thomas of Strassburg in his portmanteau. To most students of theology Thomas Argentinensis is no more than a name cited occasionally in a long list of medieval authorities. But it is impossible to make any detailed study of fourteenth-century thought

without being drawn into an inquiry concerning the views that were defended by a brilliant group of Augustinian theologians—beginning with Giles of Rome and ending (for most of us, since our knowledge is too limited to carry us much further) with Gregory of Rimini. Father Shannon had the good fortune to be assigned a central figure in this group as the subject of his doctoral thesis: Thomas of Strassburg, whose *Commentary on the Sentences* dates from the third decade of the century and who was Prior General of his order from 1345 to his death in 1356 or 1357. The *Commentary* has been printed more than once, but copies of this rare work are almost inaccessible in English or Irish libraries. This painstaking account of a problem to which Thomas of Strassburg and many of his contemporaries devoted much attention is thus a welcome addition to our knowledge of the schools of the fourteenth century.

Thomas of Strassburg is a younger contemporary of Ockham and an immediate predecessor of Gregory of Rimini—but his theology is more conservative than might be suggested by these two names. Indeed it is probable that he was elected, and twice re-elected, as Prior General in the hope that his steadying influence would hold back the young masters of the order from the general drift towards Nominalist teaching. Giles of Rome, a brilliant pupil of Thomas Aquinas, had been Prior General of the order towards the end of the thirteenth century, and Thomas of Strassburg (as Father Shannon shows in detail) based his teaching on a loyal, though not subservient interpretation of the *doctrina Aegidiana*. That doctrine was given a somewhat different complexion in the later days of the Augustinian school; and perhaps the most interesting portion of Father Shannon's dissertation is his proof that Thomas, writing within a generation of the death of Giles, differs profoundly from the later interpreters of the *doctrina Aegidiana* in his conclusions as to the value of natural good works and in his whole explanation of the problem of predestination. Thanks to Father Shannon's lucky visit to Dublin in 1939 I was able to satisfy myself that this sensible, level-headed German doctor did not accept the more extreme views of some of his contemporaries as to the nature and justification of lordship and property. His clear recognition of the value of natural society is in keeping with his whole doctrine as to the essential goodness of human nature and the value of natural good works. So too his simple, concise and authoritative statement of the various problems which he discusses and his own clear-cut, logical and satisfying conclusions are in pleasing contrast with the endlessly subtle and confusing labyrinths of his Scotist and Nominalist contemporaries.

Father Shannon has done well in this preliminary work; but we hope that he has managed to find a copy of Thomas in some American library, and that he will give us one day what he is plainly most competent to give us—a complete account of one of the ablest doctors in the school of which his own order is so justly proud.

A. G.

THEOLOGIA FUNDAMENTALIS. By A. C. Cotter, S.J. Worcester (Mass): The Heffernan Press. 1940. $3.50.

A TEXT book on Fundamental Theology running into 739 pages might seem too much of a good thing—too diffuse and unwieldly to be practical. But Fr. Cotter is not diffuse. On the contrary he is singularly clear, terse and orderly. The length of the book is due to the thoroughness and completeness aimed at by the author, and to the intercalation here and there of certain sections which are meant to be of assistance to the students later on in the application of what they have learned in the schools. Hence he aims at being specially practical.

So far from being over-discursive, he has omitted entirely all those preliminary discussions on religion in general, the history of religions, the necessity of religion

which constitute what is known as " the apologetics of the threshold " and what was perhaps unduly stressed a generation ago in deference to Modernism. Now that Modernism is dead, at least within the Catholic Church, our author just ignores it and reverts to the older and more traditional treatment.

Fr. Cotter also assumes scholastic philosophy as mastered and still remembered. Hence he seems to reject the view of Pater Wenceslaus Pohl (*De Vera Religione : Quaestiones Selectae*) (Herder, 1928) who contends that it is expedient, if not necessary, for Apologetics to begin with a short refresher course on the basic philosophic questions of Epistemology and Theodicy, that are vital for establishing every step in the process of thought by which the mind travels in attaining the *praeambula fidei*. (Incidentally he gives us a golden compendium for doing so).

Whether Fr. Cotter is right or wrong in these two decisions is matter for debate. Authorities are still divided on this issue ; but he has great names and strong arguments for the plan he has adopted. Further it enables him to perform the task he does undertake with a fulness and an accuracy of detail which makes his volume one of the very best manuals on the subject that has yet appeared in any language. Everyone dreams of the ideal text-book which will satisfy all the exigencies of the situation. But it remains a dream, like so many other ideals : and every attempt to realise it must end in some compromise, which can do more than win the approval of the judicious as a brave attempt.

This is a brave attempt and, within the limits deliberately set himself by the author, a most successful one. Superlatives are notoriously dangerous. Yet it would be hard to imagine, and very much harder to compose, a better class-book than this. It is lucid, logical and singularly succinct—despite its length—both in exposition and in argumentation. It is well documented and has numerous objections fairly stated and efficiently answered.

Finally it is up-to-date, taking cognisance of all worth-while modern research as of all worth-while modern difficulties. There is evidence throughout of that *improbus labor* without which not even a manual of theology can be compiled. It has particular value for students in the English-speaking world, because the author has catered especially for them in his choice of authorities cited and adversaries summoned to account. But written in the Latin of the schools it is catholic in its appeal, as Catholic in its teaching. It may be warmly commended to all in search of a first-class exposition and defence of the basic truths on which revelation rests.

P. J. Gannon

Miscellaneous

CATHOLIC ART AND CULTURE. An Essay on Catholic Culture. By E. I. Watkin. London : Burns Oates. 1942. 9s. net.

In this essay Mr. Watkin has attempted to give an historical account of the origin and growth of Catholic art and culture and also to penetrate to the deeper philosophical and theological principles which Catholic culture implies. To deal with a problem of this magnitude in so brief a compass is a considerable *tour de force*. In itself the Catholic religion is concerned with the worship of God, and this may seem to imply simply a detachment from all worldly things—what Mr. Watkin calls " the vertical movement to transcendent Deity." But it is obvious that this is only one side of historical Catholicism. For Christianity also implies a maximum of appreciation of creatures as God's handiwork and God's gifts to man. Mr. Watkin here adapts to his own purposes a principle of von Hugel. Christianity implies, in addition to the vertical movement, " a horizontal movement to creatures and thereby to God in creatures."

Mr. Watkin distinguishes five periods in Catholic art and culture—early Christianity, medieval Christianity, the renaissance, the age of baroque and the

modern world. His treatment is inevitably very much compressed. In dealing with the past it seems possible to discover connections and relations between different forms of art and culture. When, in his final chapter, Mr. Watkin endeavours to lift the veil of the future the reader may find it more difficult to discover the same vision. The modern period appears to him " the winter of Christianity, indeed of religion generally " ; " no European nation has been a society of convinced Christians."

" Under these conditions there could be no question of a Catholic culture or of a Catholic art expressing a collective vision of Catholic truth. Without the support of such collective insight the insight of even the most gifted individual artist, whether in letters or some art in the stricter sense, was largely crippled. It could achieve far less and its sphere of influence was comparatively small. In fact Catholic art degenerated for the most part into a commercialised production of lifeless sentimentalities, ' Catholic repository next door to Woolworths ' ; the notice put up in a certain church informed us with a truth beyond its intention."

Whatever the explanation may be, there can be little difference of opinion about the facts. It does not perhaps help us much to learn that, when art and culture decline, the environment must be unfavourable. What conditions are in fact favourable to the production of successful works of art is a problem to which there does not seem to be any convincing solution. D. O'K.

THE CELEBRATION OF MASS. A Study of the Rubrics of the Roman Missal. By Rev. J. O'Connell. Vol. I. *The General Rubrics of the Missal.* 1941. Vol. II. *The Rite of Low Mass.* 1940. Vol. III. *The Rite of High Mass and Sung Mass.* 1942. London: Burns Oates. 15s. each. 40s. the set.

The first and second volumes of this work, which appeared in 1940 and 1941, have met with universal praise. The praise is indeed merited. And the third volume which has recently been issued is, if anything, even better than its predecessors. Its excellent photographs and clear diagrams will solve many a problem for the harassed master of ceremonies.

A thorough knowledge of the Rubrics, combined with clarity of expression and sureness of interpretation, make it one of the best works of its kind. It deserves translation into the main European languages, for there is very little doubt but that it will rank as one of the standard books on the Rite of Mass.

The author's solution of the ample-vestment question is an interesting one. Contrary to the now almost universal practice, he gives in the text the stricter interpretation of the Decree of 1925. Yet all his illustrations are of ample vestments. Solvitur illustrando ! Those who wish a full discussion of the question will find it admirably treated in Roulin's *Vestments and Vesture.*

For most priests, Volume II will be the most useful. Its careful perusal will be no less valuable to them than that of an ascetic treatise on the Mass. It is surely a " protestant " piety which prides itself on a manner of celebrating that ignores the regulations of the Church and dismisses them as " merely rubrics." " Such a way of saying Mass scandalizes and often gravely perturbs the people. And it gradually undermines and sometimes entirely destroys their reverence for the Mass." The safeguarding of that reverence will be the finest fruit of this outstanding work. D. O'S.

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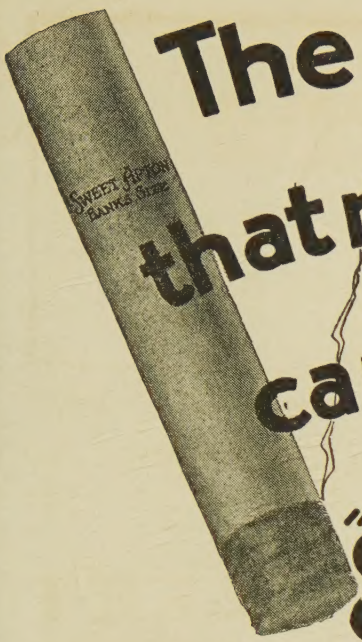

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